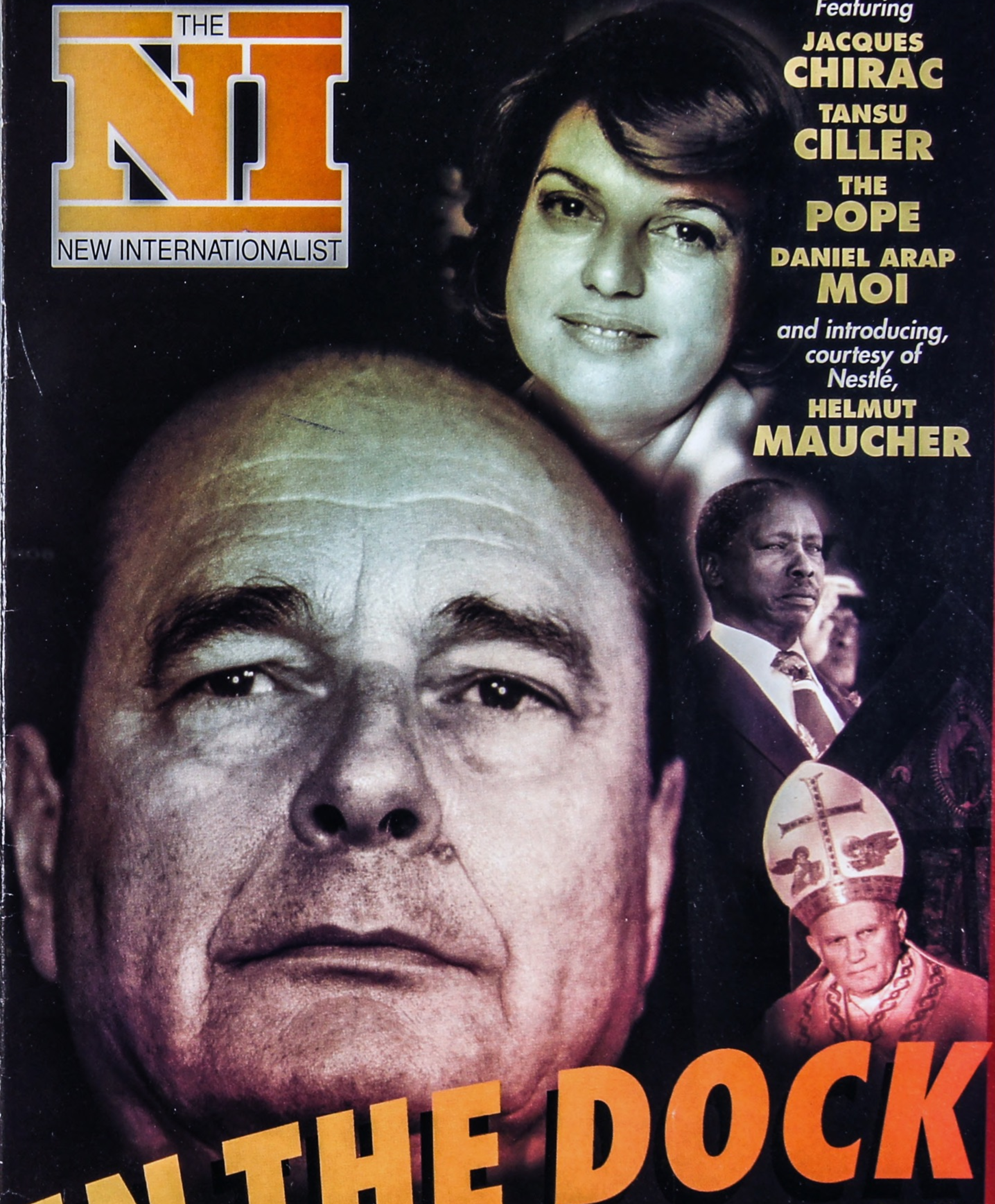
No. 275 / JANUARY 1996

THE NI
NEW INTERNATIONALIST



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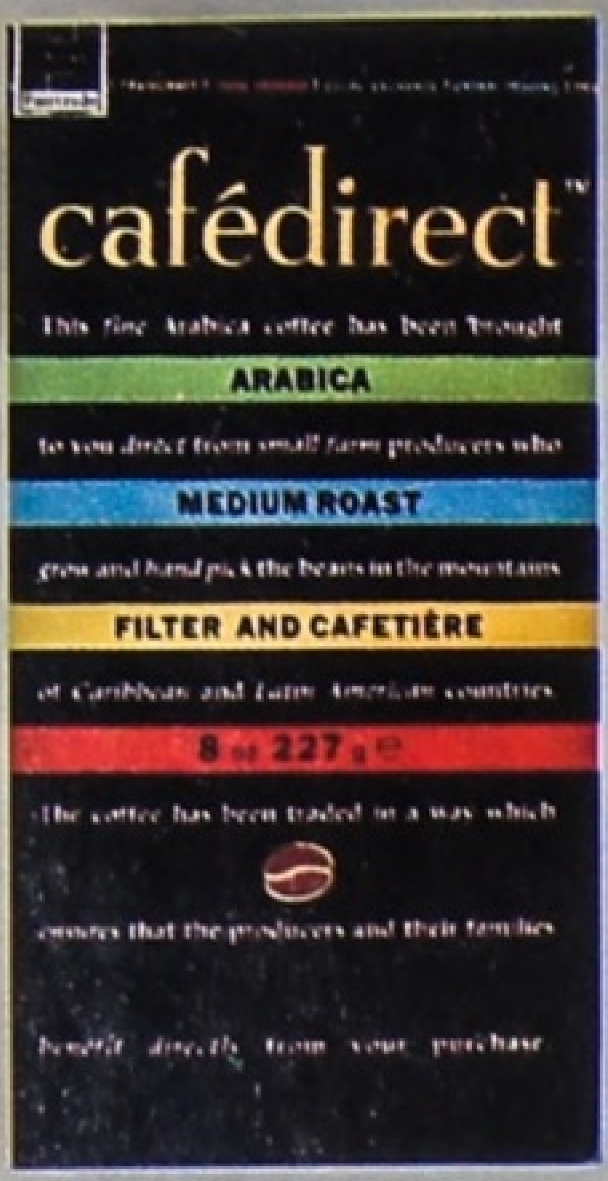

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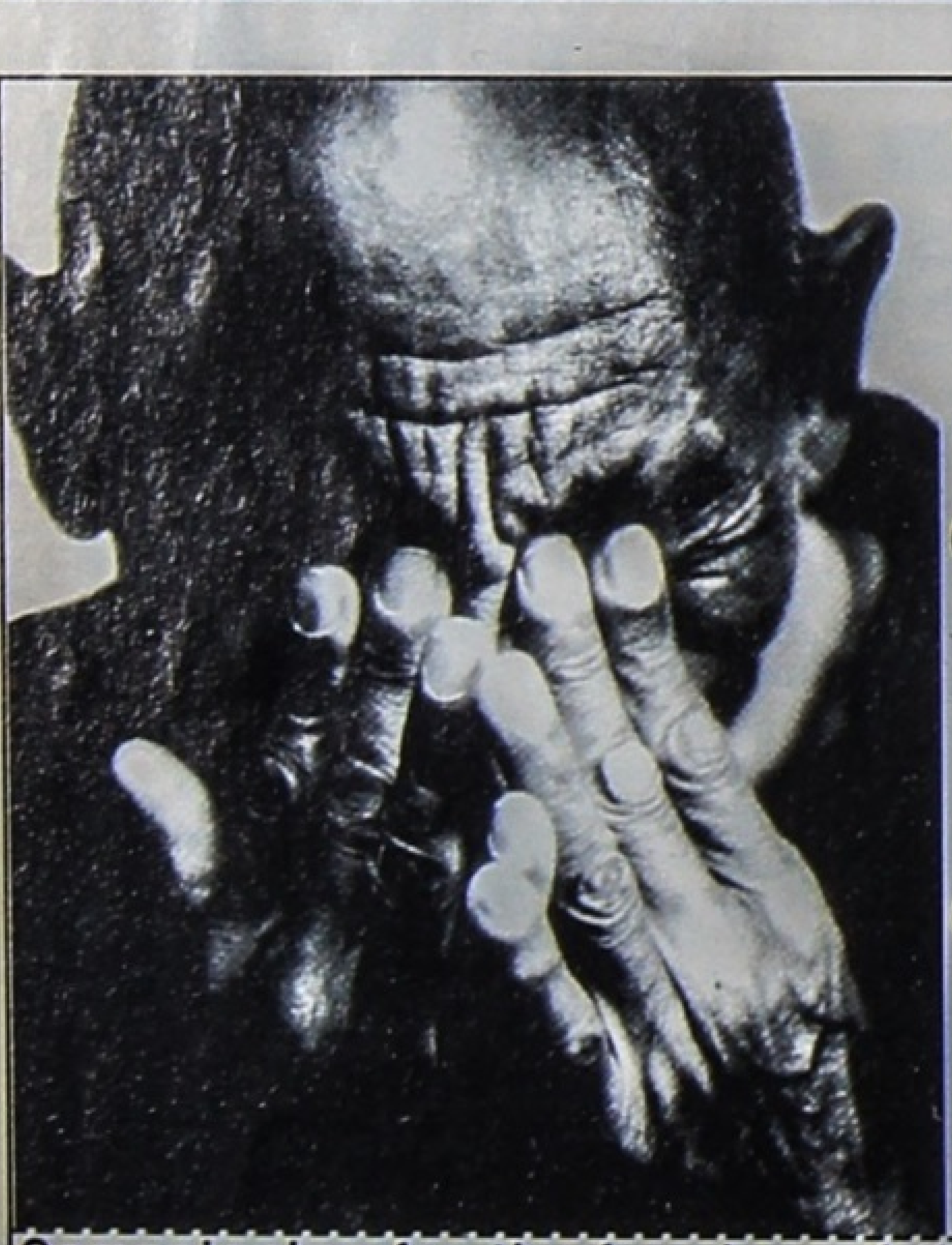

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CONTENTS

ASSOCIATED PRESS

In the dock 7
The Chief Prosecutor of the World People's Court wrestles with some personal demons.

Tansu Çiller 9
*Turkey's Margaret Thatcher is chic and Westernized – and the hammer of the Kurds. Kurdish prisoner **Leyla Zana** is lead witness.*

Where are they now? 12
Idi Amin enjoys a coffee with his cronies in Jeddah; ex-Emperor Bokassa now fancies he is God; Baby Doc Duvalier is down on his luck. News and gossip about seven other ex-dictators.

Jacques Chirac 15
*He said he'd start his presidency with a bang – and he was true to his word. Tahitian independence leader **Oscar Temaru** testifies against the new French emperor.*

THE WORLD'S TEN WORST DICTATORSHIPS – THE FACTS 18

Pope John Paul II 20
The world may have moved on but the Pope will not give an inch on Catholic people's right to contraception. A few of the victims speak out.

Helmut Maucher/Nestlé 23
The Chief Executive of the world's biggest food multinational stands trial for its continuing push to sell babymilk to the poor.

Swimming against the tide 26
Lighten the gloom by celebrating the activist winners of the Right Livelihood Award for 1995 – the Alternative Nobel Prize.

Daniel arap Moi 27
*Kenya's leader recently had multi-party elections – so why is he in the dock? Prisoner of conscience **Koigi wa Wamwere** tells us why.*

Action... including Boycott Nestlé! 29

Letters 2
Letter from Georgia 3
Update 4
The NI Interview with **Sugatha Kumari** 31
Reviews: plus **Arthur Koestler** classic 32
Curiosities 34
Endpiece: by **Maria del Nevo** 35
Country profile: Nicaragua 36

MAGAZINE DESIGNED BY **IAN NIXON**, WHO ALSO CREATED THE FRONT COVER BASED ON PHOTOS FROM GAMMA/FRANK SPOONER

THIS MONTH'S **THEME**

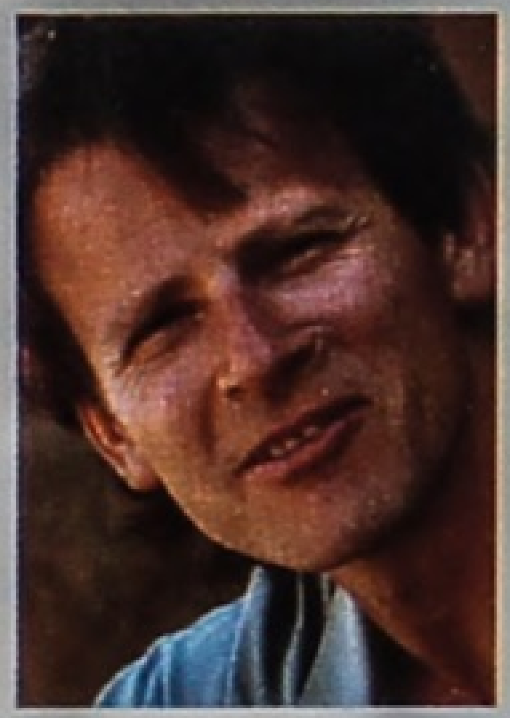
In the dock

FROM THIS MONTH'S **EDITOR**

When I was a subscriber to the **NI** rather than one of its editors I used to value it not just because it reached the parts of the planet that other magazines don't reach, but also for its unpredictability. Every three or four issues there seemed to be something maverick in the magazine's treatment that varied the pace of a subscription and offered a different way into a subject.

It was only when I joined the staff that I found those maverick treatments had often emerged out of desperation as a small co-operative with limited resources coped with the demands of producing an international magazine of quality every month.

The operation is not run so much by the seat of the pants these days and maybe some of that ragged, raw unpredictability has gone. Good riddance, you might well think. But we still value a treatment that puts a different twist on a subject and thereby opens a few doors that would otherwise remain shut.



This is why we have chosen to base this issue on a fiction – that a World People's Court has been established without the major powers managing to scupper it in advance, and that a prosecution team is about to bring cases against five important public figures around the world for their various 'crimes against humanity'. The crimes outlined, though – and the damage done to the ordinary people on the other end of them – are very real.

We do not witness their trial. Instead the dossier that the prosecution team has compiled is opened to our gaze, including not just the charges, the anticipated defence and the requested sentence but also the meditations of the Chief Prosecutor on how the case should be played.

You might justifiably feel that these five people are by no means the world's worst 'fugitives from justice' and that there are plenty of brutal dictators still polluting the world who deserve to be put in the dock. This is perfectly true – and the Facts spread on Page 18 breaks down the human-rights record of what we consider to be the ten worst dictatorships in the world, while on Page 12 you will find out what many of the most infamous dictators from the recent past are up to now. But if the case against Saddam Hussein had been followed by a litany of the crimes of General Abacha of Nigeria the magazine would surely have become repetitive as well as thoroughly depressing.

So we have selected a slightly less obvious quintet. I would dearly like to have included a sixth who would have been less obvious still: Professor Jeffrey Sachs, the Harvard economist who has acted as a consultant exporting free-market shock therapy to both Latin America and Eastern Europe. But the case against him didn't quite gel in the time we had available. Maybe next time – any dirt you have on the dear professor may be dished to this address.

Chris Brazier

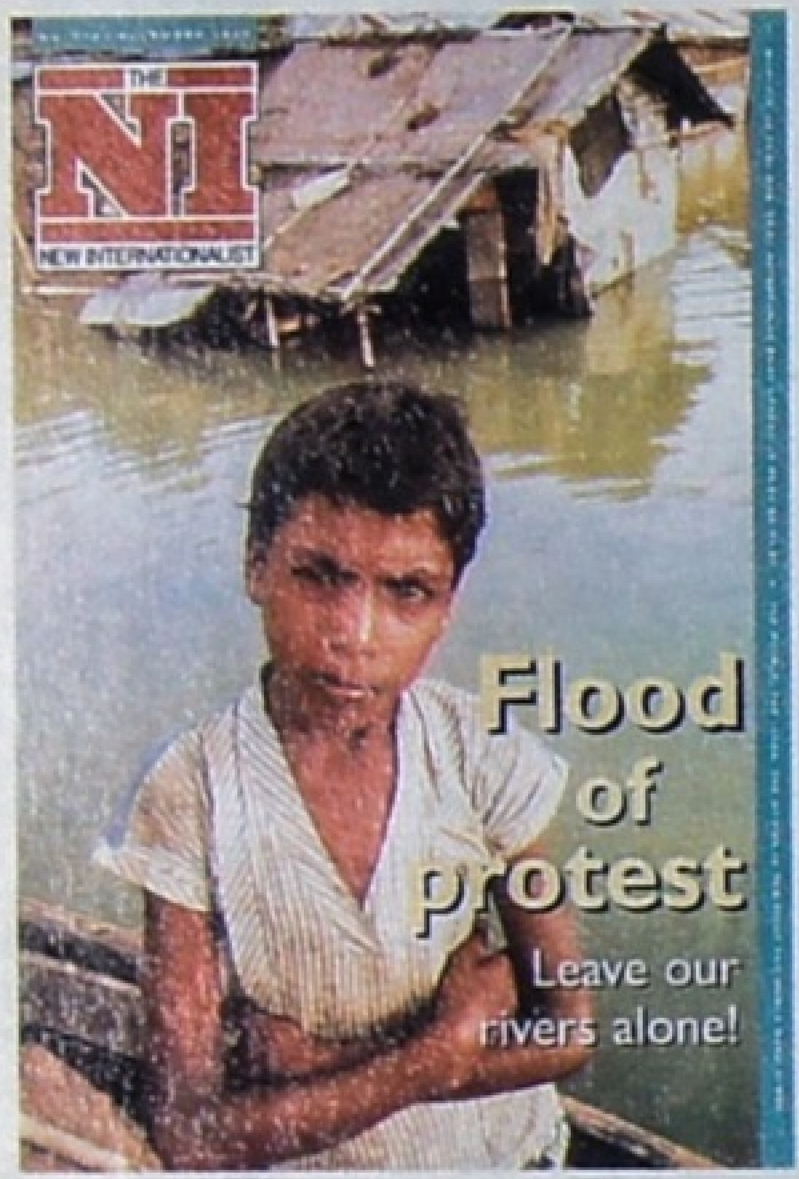
Chris Brazier
*for the **New Internationalist** Co-operative*

Letters

The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

Delta blues

As a surveyor I spent many years in the Sudan, and also worked on the major Niger and Blue Nile dams. Your article 'Delta Blues' ***Rivers*** (**NI 273**) on the effects of the High Aswan Dam is unfair to its Egyptian owners, with only one paragraph out of 13 on their 'story' of the seven dry years in the 1980s. Without the High Dam's over-year storage, millions of Egyptians would have died then – unless we and others had fed them.



You also failed to mention why the dam was built. Egypt foresaw that with the end of peaceful and efficient British administration in Sudan and Uganda, they could not rely on the operation of their comprehensive control plan of 1948 for storage in Lakes Victoria and Albert, and the transport of this water via the Jonglei canal. The Sudanese civil war caused the abandonment of this canal before completion.

Dr Hurst, the main author of this plan, foresaw sequences of high and low Blue Nile floods. So of course did Joseph in Pharaoh's dream.

John Wright
West Wittering, Sussex, England

Nowhere to turn

I read with much interest your issue on ***Medicine*** (**NI 272**) and particularly appreciated Zafa Mirza's contribution about people's attitude towards pills and medicines in Pakistan. These attitudes are not so very different here in Italy. People's disappointment about allopathic medicine is so great that between two and five million have turned to what are termed 'alternative' medicines. They then find that a lot of these doctors are taking advantage of the lack of state control over what they do to make money quick. The average bill for a one-hour visit to one of these doctors (no home visits) is around $1,500 – tax-free of course, and no written bill is ever handed to the patient.

The end of the story is that you do not know where to turn when looking for help in curing an illness.

Franco Cavalleri
Como, Italy

Stomach ulcers

Your magazine on ***Medicine*** (**NI 272**) highlighted some of the gross inconsistencies that occur in healthcare worldwide and correctly reported that antacids such as Zantac represent an enormous chunk of total drug sales.

What you did not report was that over the last ten years research started in Australia has shown that 90 per cent of patients with stomach ulcers have a bacteria, *Helico-bacter Pylori*, thriving in the stomach. The body's response is to increase the acid secretion to kill off the bacteria. They survive this onslaught and the patient is prescribed antacids as the increased acidity begins to erode the stomach itself.

Helico-bacter Pylori can be eradicated by a short course of specific, off-patent, cheap antibiotics. Most new forms of disease treatment are promoted and pushed by drug companies to doctors. It does not take a genius to work out why this remarkable cure for stomach ulcers is not standard treatment.

Anna O'Brien
Oxford, England

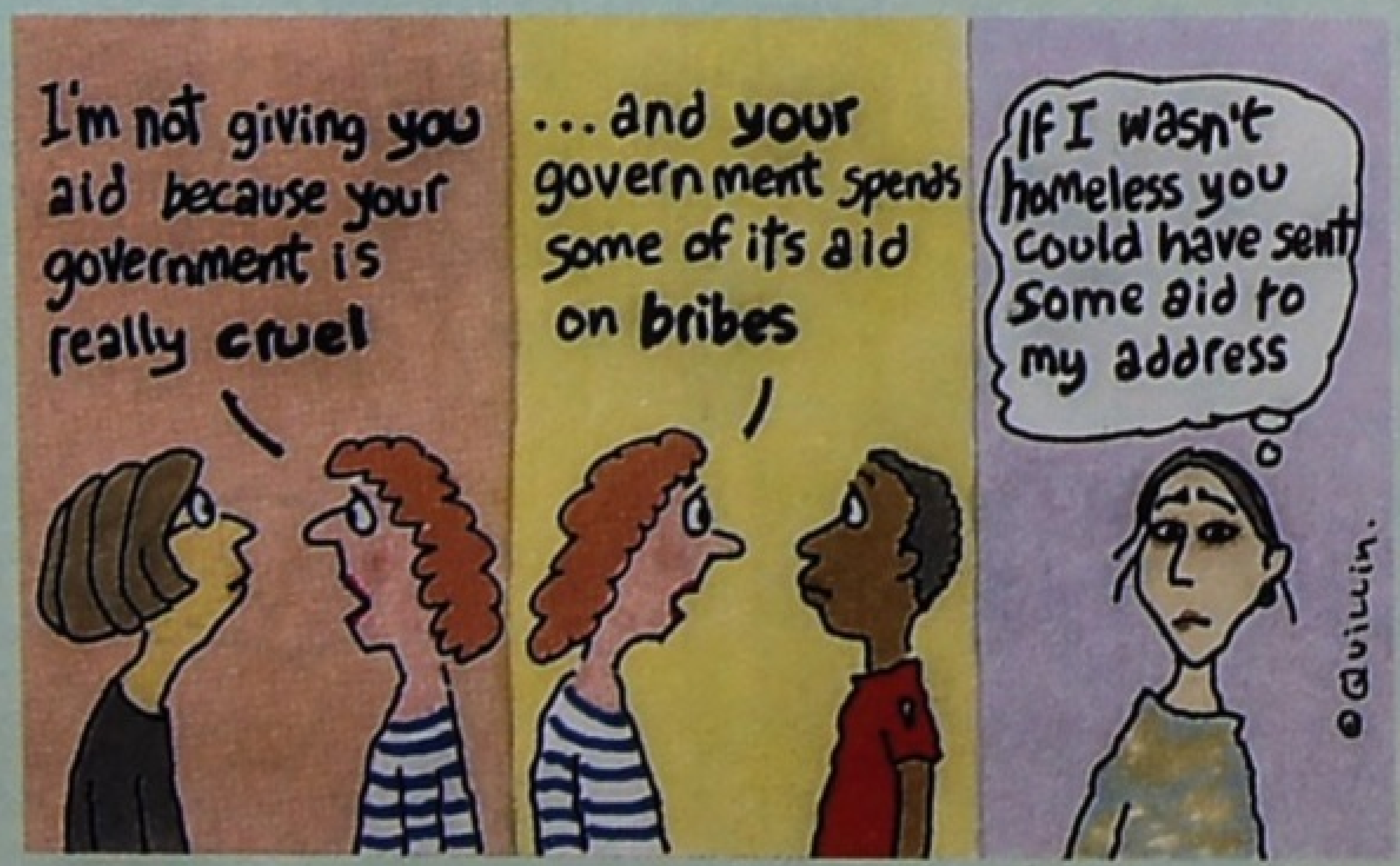
Why charity?

Denis Underwood (*Letters* **NI 272**) cannot support charities spending money in countries whose governments allow human rights abuses against minorities.

There are two assumptions implicit in the letter: 1) Welfare monies are spent on the needy majority, overlooking abuse of a minority that often shrouds the welfare needs of the majority, and 2) Charity is given from the goodness of the donor's heart, rather than to redress an unjust distribution of the world's resources.

Donors should look for an agency working in partnership at the grassroots acting to change the conditions giving rise to the abuses.

David Langbridge
Tarragindi Old, Australia


I'm not giving you aid because your government is really cruel
...and your government spends some of its aid on bribes
If I wasn't homeless you could have sent some aid to my address
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VIV QUILLIN

Changing the world

World Vision decries the way some non-governmental organizations challenge 'big businessmen and politicians' (*Letters* **NI 271**).

Trade Aid, on the other hand, believes that many of the problems of world poverty and underdevelopment have their roots in unjust and exploitative trading patterns.

It is through campaigns and lobbying that we seek to inform and change people's opinions – including politicians and big business. If we do not, we accept the status quo and endorse the very systems that perpetuate poverty.

Protest action and radicals can and have injected ideas into the public arena which eventually become mainstream. We only have to look at Civil Rights campaigns by black Americans in the 1950s, the nuclear-free issue and the anti-apartheid movement for examples of 'fringe' ideas becoming accepted by the majority.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead once said: 'Never doubt that a small group of committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.'

Sylvia Huxtable
& Carolyn Davies
for the Trade Aid movement
Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Addressing gender

If ever there were any doubt about the need for your edition on ***Women*** (**NI 270**) then we should thank Richard Morley (*Letters* **NI 272**) for reassuring us.

While people such as Mr Morley leap so defensively for pen and paper, issues relating to gender inequalities can never be truly addressed. I am glad to note that in Leominster at least all 'ladies' receive equal pay for equal work, occupy 50 per cent of senior management positions and are no more likely than men to be the victims of sexual assault or domestic violence.

Unfortunately this is clearly not the case elsewhere in this country or in the world that *New Internationalist* seeks to inform us of.

Gill Hale
Stockton-on-Tees, England

Off beam

The review of Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* (**NI 272**) is way off beam. Writing as one 'who made the journey to Spain' to join the International Brigade, I can assure your readers that Loach's hero is far from typical. That applies to his journey to Spain and even more to his keeping quiet about his experiences on returning home. Returning members of the British Battalion formed the International Brigade Association to carry on the struggle against Fascism. As we said at the time, the fronts have changed but the battle continues.

The Spanish Civil War was fought between the elected Republican Government and the Franco-led rebel Generals backed by the resources of Hitler and Mussolini plus the Non-Intervention policy of the Western democracies. That is not what Ken Loach's film is about.

Whatever star rating the film merits for Entertainment, for Politics it deserves only a zero.

Dave Goodman
Newcastle, England

Motherhood

I am researching and compiling a book about the experience of motherhood and would love to hear from readers. I am interested in material on all aspects of motherhood from pregnancy and childbirth, to being a working mother and feelings about your own mothers. Please write to me at 4 St Albans Down, Nonington, Dover, Kent CT15 4HN.

Deborah Hayward
Dover, England

Goose with bite

The 'Quote' in **NI 271** is one of my favourites, but yours is a very watered-down version, lacking the 18th-century 'bite' of the one I always cherished. My grandfather taught it to me and he was born in about 1870. It should say: 'They hang the man and flog the woman that steals the goose from off the Common but let the greater felon loose that steals the Common from the goose.'

Adrian Vaughan
Fakenham, England

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the New Internationalist.

LETTER FROM **GEORGIA**

The Long and Winding Road

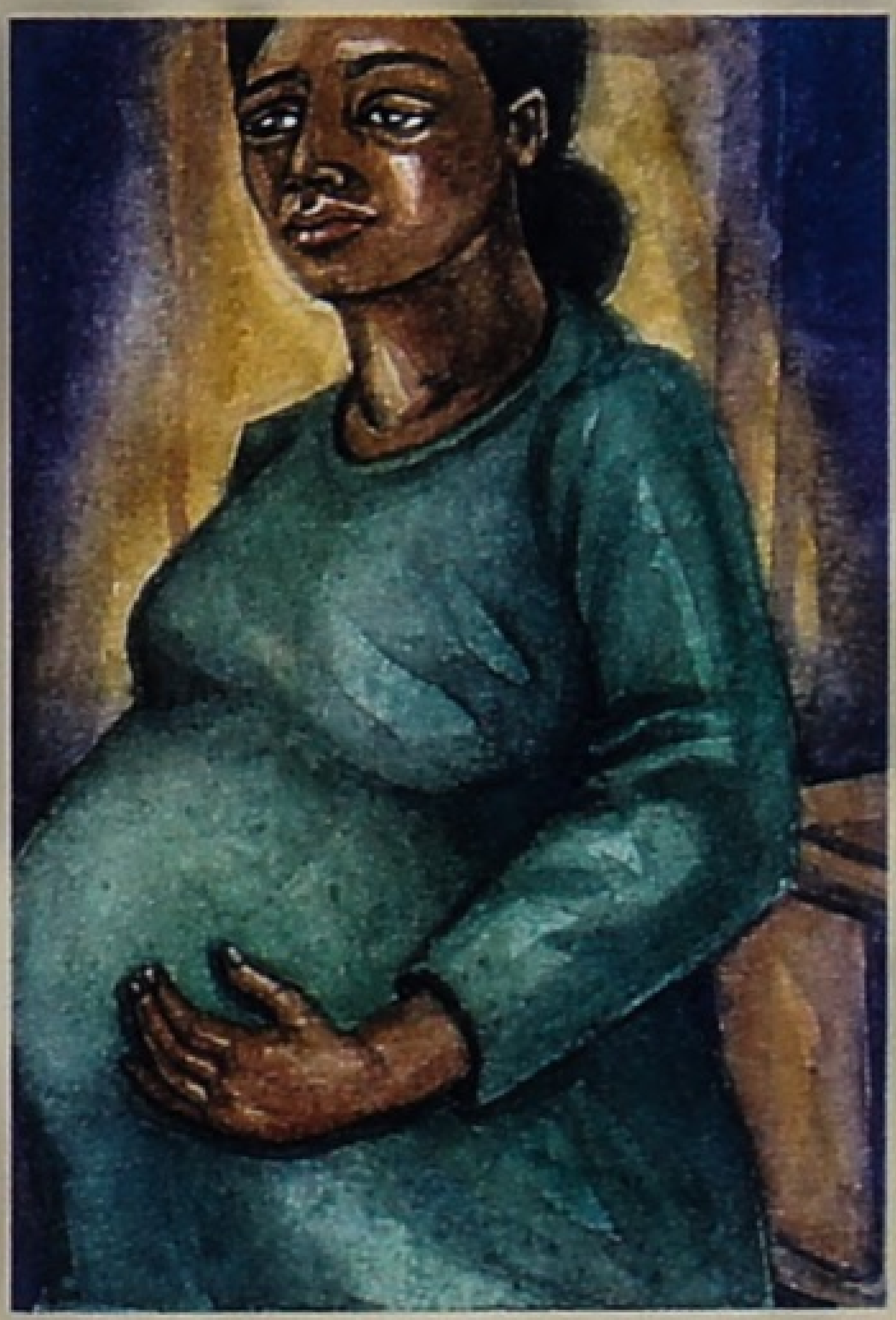
Olivia Ward meets two lovers whose fates have been as star-crossed as those of their beloved country.

When the French writer Colette talked about the courage of ordinary women, she had never seen the collapsed beauty of this tiny republic. But as I sat in Nino's dark kitchen her words seemed very close.

The tiny oil stove sent a warmly fragrant aura around my companion, turning her rotund figure into a tableau of plenty. But it was an illusion. For Nino, nine months pregnant and 40 years old, was if anything a symbol of threadbare determination in the face of adversity.

'We didn't want to get married when the country was in upheaval.' she said. 'So we waited a year. Then we waited another two years. Finally we realized time had run out for us.'

Nino and Georgy's story had a Mills-and-Boon plot that plummeted into stark contemporary realism. Childhood sweethearts in the picturesque West Georgian town of Kutaisi, they came from two different Soviet households. Hers, the intelligentsia; his, a solid blue-collar home.


MIRIAM McCURDY

Squinting into the candlelight over a simmering pot of eggplant, Nino told me about the years of plenty that came with a lush farmland location and a bit more than enough money to go round.

When she and Georgy fell in love as teenagers, her parents, local intellectuals, turned up their noses at the good-humoured young mechanic with the soft brown eyes. And he was determined to better himself through education and win the family's respect.

Georgy won a place at a provincial Russian engineering college. And when Nino left for Moscow to take a mathematics degree they drifted inexorably away from each other.

After graduation, settled in a prestigious academy post in Moscow, Nino begged Georgy to join her. He refused with the pride of a Caucasian man who could not live with a higher-earning wife. He went to the wastes of Siberia, saving his premium salary for his future home and family.

When the Soviet Union collapsed the political caught up with the personal. Georgia declared independence and they both realized it was time to go home.

'When we met after so many years it was overwhelming,' said Nino, her face flushed in spite of the cold. 'We felt like fools for wasting so much time.'

But in Kutaisi Nino drew the tiny salary of a rural mathematics professor. Georgy, chief engineer at a local factory, was paid every few months if at all. Then the plant folded along with the economy.

Within three years Georgia was torn apart by war, famine and lawlessness. A separatist army briefly seized the town, terrorizing the residents. Looters swept through the countryside and most people barricaded themselves behind their gates with guns. In a beautiful 18th-century chapel lit only with candles, Nino and Georgy were married.

'It was not a romantic wedding,' Nino smiled. 'By this time we had almost no electricity and the heat was off for months.'

Now she faced a much bigger challenge – childbirth in a freezing hospital where she must bring her own blankets, painkillers, medicines and food: an event I found hard to imagine without rising panic. But Nino merely shrugged. 'At first I lay awake at night shaking. People told me I was too old for a first child under these conditions. But if we're going to survive we all have to be strong, even the baby.'

Fear aside, the insurmountable problem was money. The emergency supplies Nino needed cost more than a year's wages, even if she were being paid regularly.

With a wallet full of travel money, I was in a dilemma. Relatives of a friend in Tbilisi, Georgy and Nino were feeding and sheltering me out of generosity and a lively interest in the outside world that I represented. But they waved away any hint of remuneration. How could I help my hosts without insulting them? On the other hand, could I leave Nino to her grim fate without at least making the attempt?

We walked up the stairs of the big study house that Georgy had built in better days. In one room was a tiny ornate crib with lace sheets. As Nino showed me these proud family heirlooms, a neighbour called to her and she left me for a moment.

The hesitation was momentary. Tucking a crisp new banknote under the sheet I said, only to myself, 'For the future.' I was sure that Nino would know what I meant. ■

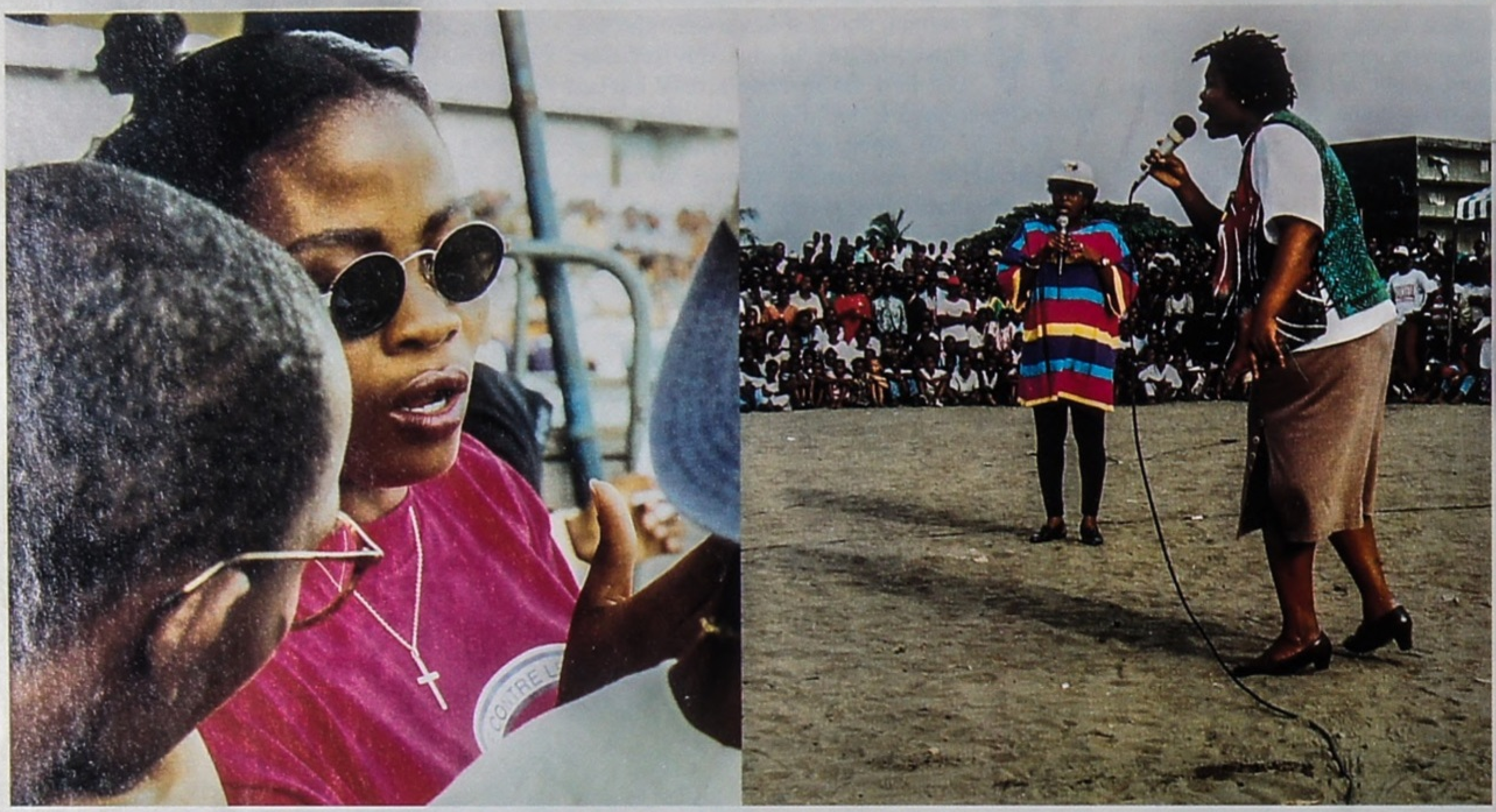
Olivia Ward is bureau chief for the *Toronto Star* in Moscow.

Update

HIV

Prudence in the city

Côte d'Ivoire tackles safer sex



Hanny Tchelly (left) and other popular stars shouting about the dangers of unprotected sex.

REBECCA DODD

Glamorous Hanny Tchelly, well-known Ivorian film star and producer, wears a lurid pink T-shirt promoting condoms. She also has a heavy gold crucifix around her neck. Her apparel is a sign of the times: Côte d'Ivoire may be one of the most religiously conservative countries in Africa, but with an estimated ten per cent of the adult population infected with HIV, the need for frankness about sexual issues is now recognized by all sectors of society, including the church.

Hanny is the star attraction of a weekly radio show broadcast from one of the poorest ghettos of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire's capital. Guests on the show include popular singers, comedians and TV personalities. Paramilitaries in fatigues hold back the 5,000-strong crowd which has gathered to watch the stars go through their routines.

Often the actors are from the popular weekly TV soap *SIDA Dans La Cité* (AIDS in the City) which Tchelly produces. 'Just because it's holiday season, these young men forget about everything. They don't help around the house, they go out drinking and dancing. Before you know it, they've got some girl pregnant or got infected with HIV,' laments one of the actresses. The crowd roars in agreement.

The programmes are part of a campaign by the US agency Population Services International (PSI) to persuade young Ivorians to use condoms. Though studies have shown that most know of AIDS and how HIV is transmitted, condom use among sexually active teenagers is woefully low.

But *SIDA* (as the soap is popularly known) and the radio show *Alloco Drone* have got people talking. They have helped normalize the discussion of sexual matters – usually taboo subjects – and present condom use as acceptable behaviour.

Produced on a shoestring budget with actors working for nominal fees, *SIDA* now rivals imported soap operas like *Dallas* and *Dynasty* in the ratings. In its very first episode (broadcast in March 1991), the 'father' in a middle-class Ivorian family discovered he was HIV-positive. From there the plot-line worked through many of the problems faced by HIV-positive people. How to tell his wife and children? What would his boss say if he found out? After much anguish the man confronts his family and his employer, who promptly sacks him. In the final episode of the most recent series his wife, who is pregnant, decides to take an HIV test. Her result will be revealed in the next series, to be broadcast soon.

PSI sells roughly 750,000 'Prudence' condoms a month at a heavily subsidized price. For the sake of religious sensitivities, PSI's condom campaign has three main messages: abstinence, fidelity and – as a last resort – condoms. 'We give all these messages, but we know that most people reject the first two as irrelevant to themselves,' says director Rob Eiger.

'We market them as a needed product for today's time, rather than a sexy fun thing to use. On the other hand, we don't want people thinking death when they buy it – that's why we use sports stars, comedians and other personalities to sell it,' says Eiger. So far, it seems to be working – Prudence condoms have the same 'brand recognition' as Toyota. ■

Rebecca Dodd, Acting Editor of *Aids Analysis Africa.*

Nursing the vicious

The British Department of Health found after a comprehensive survey that racial abuse of black and Asian nurses by patients is commonplace. 'In every case-study area looked at, and in nearly every speciality within these areas, ethnic minority nurses reported having been racially harassed by patients. Despite this they were expected not to 'make a fuss' and to get on with their jobs. They did not have the right to refuse racist patients. They were also discriminated against by their employers who were slow to promote them. They were concentrated in less popular specialities like mental illness, learning disability and care of the elderly. Black staff could expect to reach the nursing-sister grades as long as five years after white colleagues. The Department of Health is to run a series of workshops on good employment practice.

Source: *The Guardian* 1/11/95

Sinking seahorses

Seahorse populations worldwide are plummeting with some 20 million being caught a year. Three-quarters of these are consumed in traditional medicines by China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. In Hong Kong large bleached seahorses sell for $1,200 per kilo, seven times more than the price of silver.

Their life-cycle makes them vulnerable. Male seahorses who, unusually, bear the burden of pregnancy, are more visible and easy prey for collectors. Strict monogamy means that their social structure gets disrupted and replacement mates are hard to find. Their habitat is restricted to coral, sea grass and mangrove. TRAFFIC, the group which monitors trade in endangered species, recommends setting up reserves and captive-breeding programmes rather than driving the trade underground.

ALEX KERSTITCH / CAMERA PRESS

New Scientist, Vol 148 No 2001.

CANCER

Chernobyl survivors

Russian immigrants in a climate of fear

When the Israel Cancer Society published a report claiming that 30 per cent of the country's cancer patients are newly-arrived Russian immigrants from the Chernobyl area it stirred up a whirlpool of controversy. The report stated that most of these immigrants had stomach or lung cancer,which are among the most expensive to treat – and that their cancer rate is seven times the national average.

The report coincided with the restructuring of the national health plan, Klalit, in order to rescue it from its multi-billion dollar debts. The press played up claims that Russian patients were in Israel just to milk the system and that many weren't even Jews. Doctors meanwhile questioned the accuracy of the report.

All of this is sickening to the migrants concerned. Building engineer Alexander Kalintriski, who arrived in Israel in 1990 in order to live in a Jewish state, formed a lobbying group of 56 Chernobyl rescue workers. Since then, 17 of the group have died.

He too has become sick, but hides his illness for fear of losing his job – a common fate for Chernobyl survivors in Israel. Detection is imminent, however, since he can no longer lift more than six pounds in one hand and all but four of his teeth have fallen out. He plans to move back to Russia.

Caught between apathetic attitudes in Israel and the lack of any compensation from Russia and Ukraine, Israel's Chernobyl survivors must earn a living and cope with a new language and culture, while not receiving any preventative health treatment.

The effect all this has on the new immigrants has been given the name 'Chernobyl AIDS'. According to psychiatrist Miriam Katz: 'The fear triggers many social problems including divorce, alcoholism and physical abuse, which lead directly to an inability to earn a good living, which triggers more social misbehaviour.'

Russian immigrants in Israel – a cancer rate 70 times the national average.

CAMERA PRESS

Other symptoms of Chernobyl AIDS noted in recent studies include depression, nightmares, cold sweats and high blood pressure – all symptoms of mass hypochondria, according to some doctors. Dr Gadi Reinert, head of the research department of Carmel Hospital and a member of the Health Ministry policy team says: 'They come to us with ailments that don't exist. Often they claim their hair is falling out and we discover that their rate of baldness is perfectly normal. This is a population of losers blaming us for their problems.'

It's attitudes like that which have made many survivors retreat into their own private hell, fearful of the day when the first symptoms show up. Crime is on the up among Russian youth. Russian activist Alexander Tenzer had these sobering words to say about the situation: 'The Government's attitude is nothing short of cruel and Israeli society is paying for it in crime, alienation and a palpable loss of human morality.' ■

Barry Chamish / Gemini

Update

PAPER

Price of independence

Costly newsprint undermines papers

YOU MAY HAVE noticed it – costlier newspapers, smaller supplements, thinner, lighter paper. It's the result of a 40-per-cent rise in world newsprint prices in 1995 and for 1996 the forecast is another 20-per-cent hike.

With even papers like *The New York Times* being forced to raise prices the fall-out in the South is far worse. Independent papers are the first to feel the pinch. Take Zambia's *Post* for example. It is Zambia's sole independent voice and frequently takes the Government to task. All the other papers make a loss and are subsidized by the Government or the Church. Last March its readers found themselves paying 75 per cent more for their paper and circulation dropped from 28,000 to 21,000. *The Post* could consider buying newsprint from Europe or North America instead of South Africa as it does now, but this would require an enormous sum up front for a bulk purchase.

In richer Zimbabwe, dependence on foreign newsprint is less acute thanks to healthy domestic production, but prices have risen here as well, partly because of an increase in the cost of imported pulp. Zim Newspapers, the country's largest group, is thinking of removing supplements. Some analytical titles survive largely thanks to foreign aid donors who also supply them with duty-free paper. Once stocks run out, they could face closure.

India's papers, recognized as the voice of democracy by media-watchers, are also struggling. 'Everyone's complaining of high newsprint prices here,' says Javed Faridi of the Delhi Union of Journalists. 'One big buyer was negotiating a bulk order and asked for two days to think it over. Two days later, the price had almost doubled.'

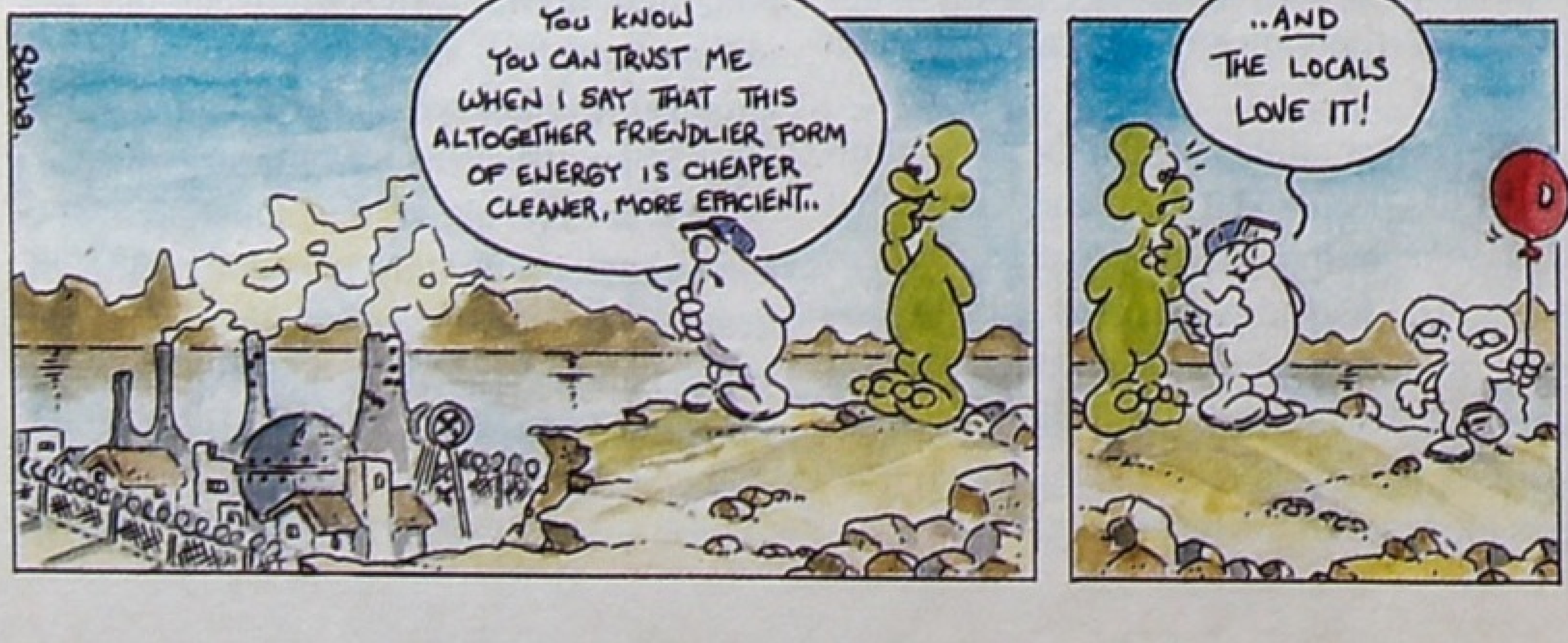
In India, as in Britain, the cover prices of many leading papers have been cut in a circulation war, and in the capital, Delhi, more newspapers and supplements have hit the streets. The main groups will probably pull through but for vernacular independents it will be tough. 'Newsprint is like gold-dust to us,' says Anurag Chaturvedi of the Bombay-based Hindi daily *Mahanagar*, whose offices in the past have been attacked by right-wing Hindu groups. It is relying on its committed readership for its survival.

Some of the stronger newspaper groups are building their own paper mills. Although the raw materials are available, such polluting new ventures risk opposition from environmental groups.

Worldwide, imaginative solutions are being sought to tackle the newsprint crisis. In Indonesia, the Government is considering the use of bamboo and jute as raw materials for newsprint. Many Western countries are investing in recycling plants, but even here there is bad news – recovered waste is in short supply. ■

David Price and Shani Wasantharaja/Panos Features

Chlorophyl by Sacha


Sacha
YOU KNOW YOU CAN TRUST ME WHEN I SAY THAT THIS ALTOGETHER FRIENDLIER FORM OF ENERGY IS CHEAPER CLEANER, MORE EFFICIENT..
..AND THE LOCALS LOVE IT!

Dishing out the dirt

The National Rivers Authority found 24,515 incidents of water pollution in Britain last year. Agriculture was responsible for 13 per cent of these and industry for a further 21 per cent. But, somewhat ironically, the largest polluters were the privatized water and sewage companies with 28 per cent of cases.

Greenline, No 128

Fashion victims

Two Colombian entrepreneurs, Miguel Caballero and Juan Murphy, are turning out hardwearing fashion statements – the duo manufactures designer bullet-proof jackets. Sales last year were a healthy $66,000 and are expected to double this year thanks to exports, the biggest growth markets being Eastern Europe and Russia.

World Press Review, Vol 42 No 10

Fermenting safety

The World Health Organization estimates that three million children under five die each year as a result of diarrhoeal disease. Up to 70 per cent of the cases are caused by contaminated food. Infants being weaned from maternal milk to other foods are especially at risk. In many poor countries mothers prepare infant food in the morning for the entire day. By night-time it can be full of potentially harmful bacteria.

Recently Drs Martin Adams and Jane Morgan of the University of Surrey, England and Dr Rokiah Yusof of the University Pertanian, Malaysia have worked together to come up with a fermentation technique which prevents harmful bacteria from growing in cereal-based food. The team are now looking to deliver their technology to South-East Asian countries where it can be put to work on traditional dried rice-flour cakes.

Rice flour in banana leaves: saving babies' lives?

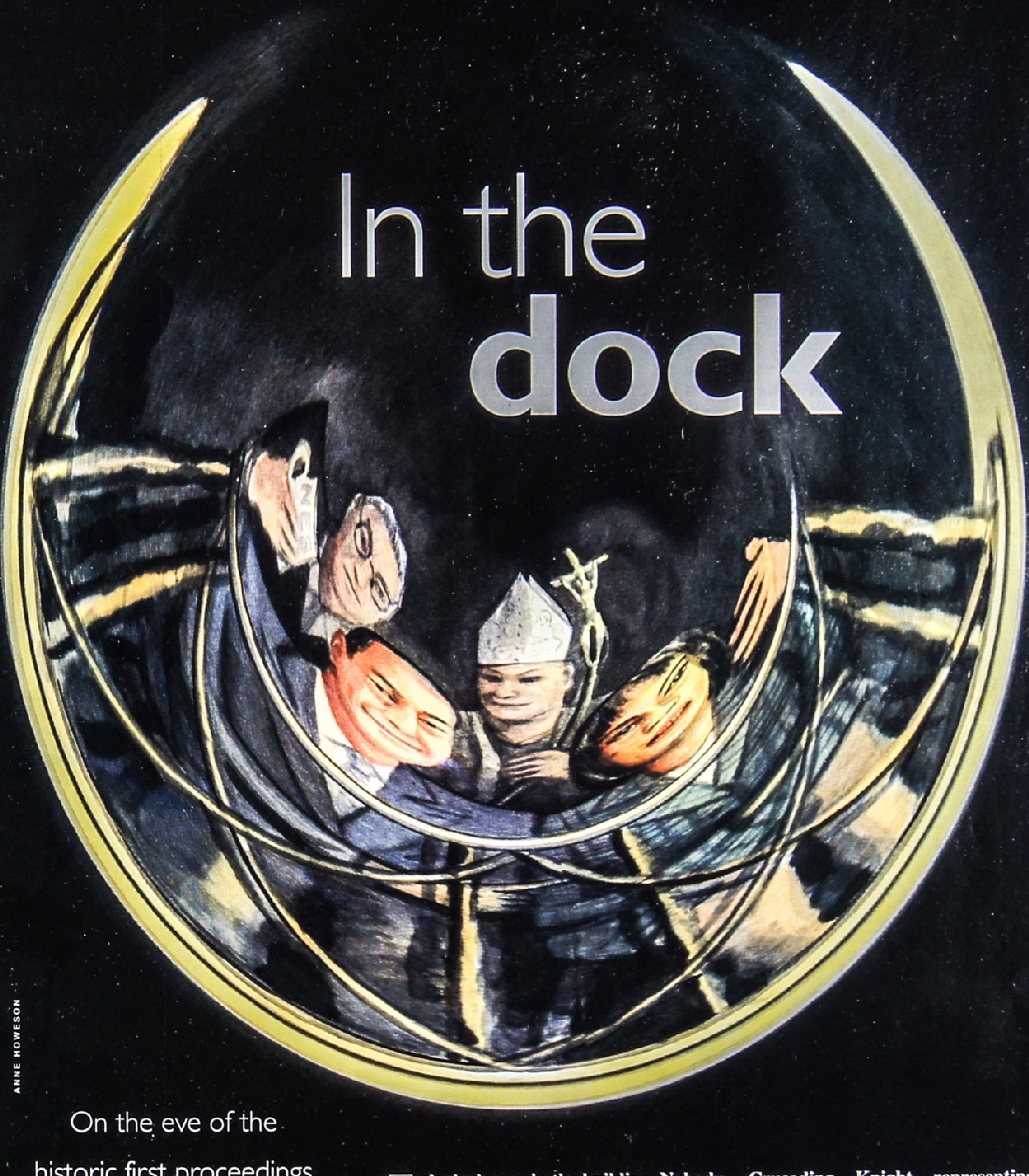
University of Surrey news release

Quote

We don't sit there every morning and say, 'How can we ruin a country?'

World Bank President **James Wolfensohn** defending the organization's record.

In the dock



ANNE HOWESON

On the eve of the historic first proceedings in the World People's Court, the Chief Prosecutor ruminates on the task ahead.

It's dark now in the building. Nobody left but me. The storm that's been slapping the mountains about for hours is now whipping over the waters of Lake Geneva to give the glass beside me a hard time. I'm safe. It can't touch me. But what about the storm I'll walk into tomorrow? After all my comfortable years of cynicism, can I really make a fist of this new role as Crusading Knight representing the Downtrodden Masses of the World?

I thought I'd left all that crusading business behind a long, long time ago in that other world called the Sixties. All of us wanted to change the world, we just chose different ways to do it. I had a friend who blew up a power plant in protest at the military-industrial complex during the Vietnam War. Others wound up with their great earthmoving novel degraded into oneliners and soundbites for ad agencies. And still others just got married and started pouring all their dreams into their kids.

Me? I went to law school, on fire with the notion that the law was all about justice. Ten years later there I was like any other lawyer, busily prosecuting the weak and the disenfranchised – crucifying them for getting involved in violence or theft in ghetto areas where they more or less had no option. Or, worse still, putting people in prison because they couldn't pay the fines imposed on them for some trivial offence – punishment for being poor.

Call me a coward or a sell-out but my reaction wasn't to put my legal skills at the service of those same poor people, working in some community law centre with wet rot in the walls and warm compassion in the coffee cups. Instead I looked after myself: I went for prestige cases with prestige fees attached and sneered at the system on the quiet as if that put me above it. I built myself a name as well as a fancy house.

Maybe membership of the country-club set was what did it for me in the end – all those fine, upstanding citizens with the gall to assume I shared their smug, bigoted ideas about crime and punishment, their enthusiasm for cleaning up the streets with a flamethrower. They'd rant on about the pushers and the pimps, the communists and the common riff-raff who were getting away with murder. And in the next breath they'd tell you about their latest scam for tax evasion without even the decency to wonder whether broadcasting it to a lawyer might not be a very smart move. The criminals we most need to catch don't even get called criminals.

There had to be something better. I used my connections and got myself a legal job inside the UN. I wish I could say that cured me of my cynicism. But it did the trick for me in one sense – without that experience there's no way I would have got this job as the first Chief Prosecutor at the World People's Court.

And this is my last chance for redemption: deep down I know that I'm desperate for this to work out, to prove myself wrong and be reunited with all those old ideals. I look at the team that's working for me on these first five cases and their faith that we can bring this off is almost painful to me. Painful because they remind me of my younger, better self but also because I know there's next to no chance that these prosecutions will succeed. The World People's Court was a crazy bolt from the blue, an idea about a hundred years ahead of its time which was pushed through by the Scandinavians while the major powers were looking the other way. But once it was in place there was no way the big wheels were going to let it threaten their own global country club.

I know that when my bosses ordered me not to go for the world's worst dictators – General Abacha of Nigeria, for example, or General Suharto of Indonesia – they had a not-so-hidden agenda. They say that those people are being dealt with by 'other channels'. But the real reason is that the crimes of the Mobutus of this world are so nakedly evident that we'd have had no trouble making our case stick.

Instead they gave me free rein to come up with prosecutions against a second tier of individuals who are less accepted as criminals by the world community. They were more or less inviting me to pluck out people like Jacques Chirac or the Pope, people so powerful that I have no chance of bringing them down. I'll tilt at windmills and the Court will lose its credibility. They know I know this. But we also both know that the Court already has a life of its own – its own brief leaves it no option but to take on the powerful and to hang itself by its own rope in the process.

Or is this just the old cynicism creaking in my bones again?

The storm's given out. I wish this was like some cheap novel where the change in the weather reflects the protagonist's change in mood. But I've had enough long dark nights of the soul to know I'm not going to get off so easy tonight.

Beyond the city I can see where the moon has cast a spotlight on the surface of the Lake. Tomorrow I'll be out in the spotlight. I've prepared all my charges, gathered all my witnesses, written all my notes for the prosecution team. Now I just have to do the world – and myself – justice. ■

Justice... While dictators and tax-evaders go free, the simple art of survival is likely to put families like this one from the Brazilian shanty town of Palafitas do Sao Fransisco on the wrong side of the law.

SEAN SPRAGUE / PANOS

Name: Tansu Çiller..

BURHAN OZBILICI / AP

POSITION:
Prime Minister of Turkey

HISTORY:
Born on 24 May 1946 in Istanbul. She was educated in the US and Turkey and lectured at the University of Connecticut before becoming Professor of Economics at Bosphorus University. A member of the Dogru Yol Partisi (the True Path Party), she was appointed Minister of State for Economics in 1991 and became Prime Minister two years later when Suleyman Demirel vacated the post to become President. Power plays in the ruling coalition have recently put her position under threat.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES TO THE TEAM:
Okay, so the shenanigans in the various Turkish ruling parties may mean Çiller is out of power by the time we bring this case. Don't worry about that – it's always been easier to indict a former leader than one still in office, for obvious reasons.

As I write she's hanging on by her fingernails but I'd bet on her staying power – she's tough. She's a fan of Britain's Margaret Thatcher and enjoys being referred to as the Iron Lady. But the way she deals with Kurdish people in her country makes Thatcher look like Little Bo Peep.

The first thing you have to understand about Çiller is why she is there. Turkey is desperate to join the European Union – gaining official membership of the rich world. Çiller is Western-educated and dresses in a chic and highly expensive style – she is reputed to spend $400 a month on pantyhose/tights alone. Putting a Westernized woman at the head of an Islamic country reassures the Europeans and the Americans. And her background in free-market economics shifts the focus away from Turkey's appalling human-rights record.

CHARGES:

▶ **Genocide** – 'ethnic cleansing' and systematic attacks on Kurds who form a majority in Turkey's six south-eastern provinces. More than 1,000 Kurdish villages have been destroyed.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES:
Çiller says these people are simply 'mountain Kurds' and that international law protecting minorities does not apply to them. Hitler might have said the same about 'ghetto Jews'.

▶ **Denial of ethnic identity and religious freedom** – Kurdish children are not allowed to be educated in their own language. Greek and Armenian schools and churches have been closed.

Until 1992 it was illegal to speak Kurdish even in private – can you believe that? It is still illegal to use it in official communications or to express Kurdish identity in any way.

▶ **Land seizure** – On 19 February 1995 Tansu Çiller introduced Law 4070, which allows the Treasury to seize and sell the land of anyone who does not have a title issued since the last military coup – which applies to 90 per cent of the country. In practice this has allowed vast areas of land to be legally seized – ordinary Turkish people are being dispossessed and often physically harmed as well. Politicians and gangsters are the main beneficiaries.

Needless to say, Çiller has herself been a beneficiary of Law 4070. She has taken over land on the Aegean coast, at Kilyos on the Black Sea and at Kurtkoy near the site of a proposed new airport. Much of the land seized by politicians is sold on to Western companies such as Ford, Bayer, Fiat, Mazda and Trafalgar House. Some of the land is even used as security for World Bank loans – in 1994 $750 million were advanced in this way.

▶ **Torture of prisoners** – Amnesty International documents many cases of torture, the most common form of which is to suspend prisoners in the air by their arms for long periods.

Much of the torture still takes place in the notorious Bayramoglu prison featured in the movie *Midnight Express*.

▶ **Collusion with the Mafia** – The Mafia operates openly in Turkey – it is well known that towns such as Gebze, Pendik and Kartal are under Mafia control. The heads of Mafia families depend on political connections. Turkey has become a Mafia safe haven since there is no extradition and Turkish judges have been intimidated by the murder of those few who resisted.

It'll be hard to tie Çiller to this directly so I suggest we drop this one from the charge sheet. The evidence against her on this count

WITNESSES for the PROSECUTION

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Leyla Zana, a Kurdish member of the Turkish Parliament, smuggled this article out of prison into the hands of the world's press on the eve of her trial for treason in December 1994.

This Thursday, seven other Kurdish members of Turkey's Parliament and I risk the death penalty when the State Security Court returns its verdict in our case. What crimes have we committed to warrant such punishment from a court established by the military dictatorship in 1980? Just one: bearing witness to the Kurdish people's immense tragedy in Turkey.

For 70 years the Kurds' very existence has been denied and their language, identity and culture banned. This has involved rural depopulation and destruction of Kurdish villages, forests and traditional society.

Turkey's human-rights minister acknowledged that in the past two years the Army has evacuated and destroyed at least 1,390 Kurdish villages. Some two million Kurds have been displaced, a dozen towns depopulated and five to six million Kurds forced into western Turkey by state terror and economic collapse because of a war now in its eleventh year.

Elected in 1991 by Kurds to represent and defend their interests and aspirations, we obviously could not remain silent. Our duty as legislators was to speak out, explore all paths to end this frightful war, which has torn our country asunder, and seek a peaceful settlement for Turkey's 15 million Kurds in a framework of democracy and existing frontiers.

To speak freely in a country ruled by an anti-democratic constitution and laws imposed by military dictatorship is risky, even for legislators. Death squads have killed more than 2,000 political and human-rights activists uninvolved in the fighting.

Among them were 82 activists of our Kurdish Democratic Party and 34 journalists and newspaper distributors. Such is the price for challenging the official, military version of events. For similar reasons 106 journalists, academics and writers are imprisoned. My husband, Mehdi Zana, a former mayor of the main Kurdish city of Diyarbakir, spent 15 years in prison for speaking out; now he is back serving a four-year jail term for testifying before the European Parliament.

I myself barely escaped two attempts on my life. I have been jailed since 5 March, charged with such 'crimes' as testifying before the US Congress's Helsinki Commission and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, speaking on European television and uttering a phrase in Kurdish in Turkey's Parliament celebrating Kurdish-Turkish friendship. My colleagues are on trial on similar charges.

Our Kafkaesque trial has provided an exemplary insight into Turkish political and legal absurdities. The prosecution ordered us to be held in preventive detention. Five months later, Ankara's State Security Court in five sessions refused our requests to confront prosecution witnesses and call defence witnesses and experts.

Observer missions from international nongovernmental organizations, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe concluded that we were on trial solely for expressing our views. That is unacceptable in a democratic state of law. They recommended that we be freed and given back our parliamentary seats.

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller has said the Kurds have brainwashed Western governments. Officials suspect that these nongovernmental organizations are crypto-terrorist, and have banned even Amnesty International.

The authorities are prisoners of out-of-date nationalism and are paranoid about 'Kurdish separatism'. Kurdish legislators make perfect scapegoats for modern Turkey's most serious economic, political, social and moral crisis. This absurd war has cost more than 15,000 lives and devours almost half the budget. That is why the military leaders want to calm public opinion with a few token Kurdish victims.

I am 33. For 14 years I have lived with persecution and seen friends tortured or killed for wanting to live in peace and democracy with Turks on the sole condition that they respect Kurds' identity and culture. I have two children, a husband and many dear friends. I love life. But my passion for justice for my people, who are suffering for dignity and freedom, is greater.

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is circumstantial. The newspaper *Aydinlik* published a list of Çiller's landholdings. Its offices were attacked and one of its journalists disappeared. Coincidental, of course. Çiller's True Path party has been accused of using organized crime to raise funds and deal with opponents.

But her desperation to join the rich-world club is still her Achilles' Heel: it's surprising she's endangered her cherished free-market project for such an indefensible folly as the war on the Kurds.

▶ ANTICIPATED DEFENCE

The needs of national security – The importance of protecting Turkish citizens from terrorism. Patriotism – 'the indivisible unity of the State'.

These are defences calculated to appeal to almost any leader.

▶ REQUESTED SENTENCE

Life imprisonment in the Bayramoglu Prison.

A more creative sentence might confine her to a special unit in which she was only allowed to communicate in Kurdish. She would be denied pantyhose in case she hanged herself with it.

What value is a life of slavery, humiliation and contempt for what you hold dearest – your identity? I will not knuckle under to Turkey's inquisition.

Beyond my fate, I am concerned about the Kurdish and Turkish peoples. Turkey will not settle the problem of its 15 million Kurds by sending eight legislators to the gallows. Turkish extremism risks provoking a general catastrophe for both peoples and for the West, which counts on Turkey as a forward base in a strategically important region.

The West should realize that Turkey is not just a locale for military bases and electronic eavesdropping. It is a country of passions and conflicts which can, as in the Shah's Iran, spill over into the irrational. If Turkey's warlords assassinate hopes for the peaceful solution that we legislators represent, the road is open for Kurds to switch massively to the camp of violence and Islamic fundamentalism. And if the Kurds, next door to Iran's Islamic revolutionaries, switch, then all Turkey will follow suit. And woe to us all.

(Leyla Zana was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and is still in jail.)

Mehmet Gürkan, head of the Kurdish village of Akçayurt in south-eastern Turkey

'I supported the Government. But they came to my village and burned it down. They took me to the gendarmerie station and tortured me. My ribs were broken. They collected the people outside the village and gave them nothing for four days. They also burned all of our crops. I came to Ankara to ask help from the Government.'

This is what Mehmet Gürkan told the *Turkish Daily News* on 3 August 1994. On 18 August he 'disappeared'. He had returned to his village to collect a few belongings and was seen being detained by security forces before being taken away in a helicopter. When his wife made inquiries the authorities denied holding him.

The conflict in south-east Turkey between government forces and guerrillas of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) has claimed more than 16,000 lives since it began in August 1984. Police operations against suspected PKK supporters and other Kurdish activists are being carried out all over Turkey. A state of emergency remains in force in 10 provinces in the east and south-east including Diyarbakir.

Any person suspected of supporting the PKK is at serious risk of torture, 'disappearance' or extrajudicial execution. *(Amnesty International)*

Meral Daanis Bestas, lawyer and human-rights campaigner

A lawyer and secretary of the Diyarbakir branch of the Turkish Human Rights Association, she says she was assaulted and tortured while being held incommunicado for four weeks at the local Gendarmerie HQ in November 1993. She was soaked for an hour naked in freezing cold water. She was also blindfolded, slapped, kicked and subjected to crude sexual insults. 'They brought me a statement and asked me to sign while I was blindfold. I said "I am a lawyer. I am not going to sign anything that I have not read."'

Amnesty International believes the real reason for her prosecution is her work for clients who have made official complaints against the Turkish security forces for torture and other human-rights violations.

(Amnesty International Focus)

Dr. AHMET BİLGİN
REFAH PARTİSİ
Dr. NECATİ ATİK
BAŞKAN ADAYI
Dr. NECATİ ATİK
BAŞKAN ADAYI

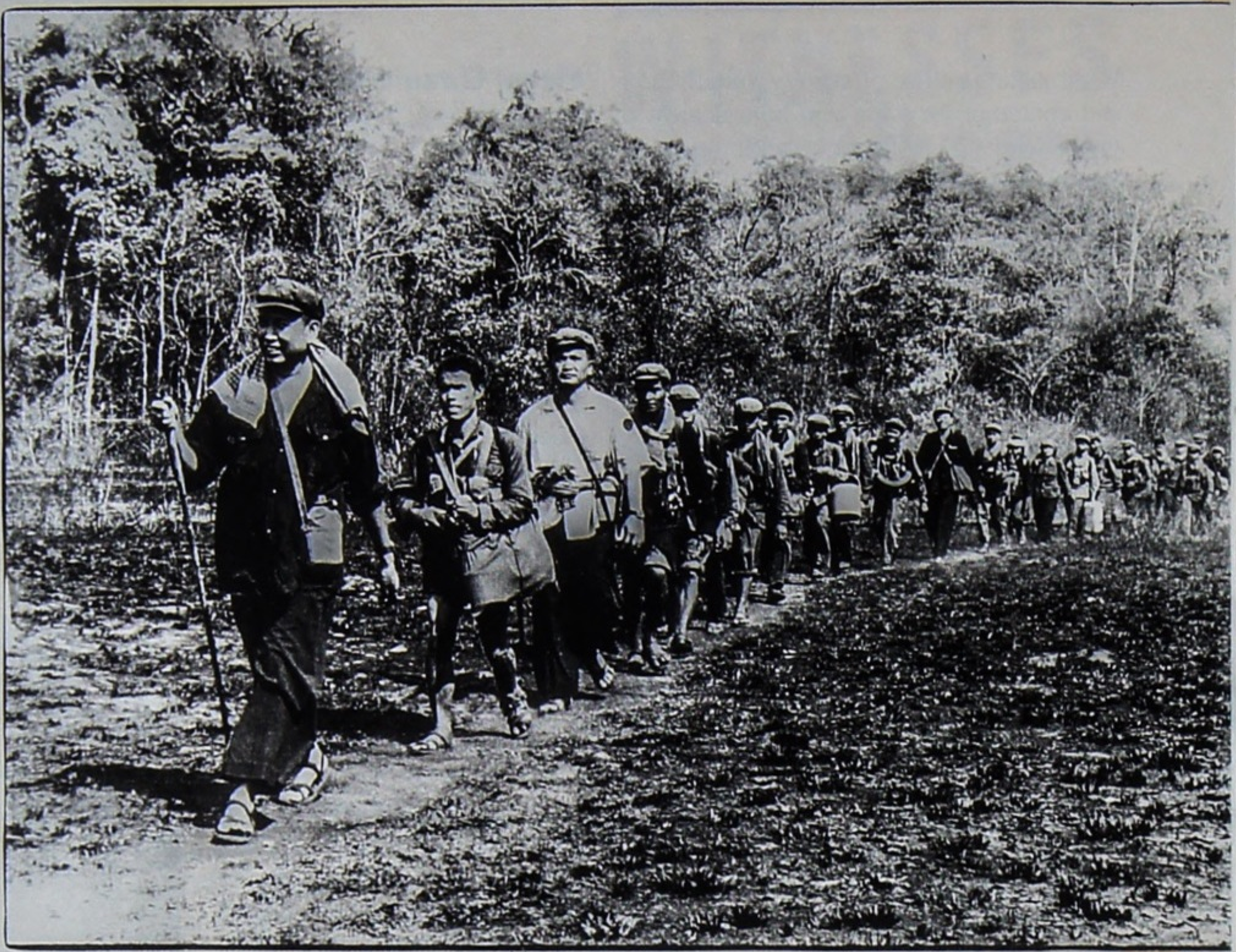
The looming hulk of the law: police intimidation at a political rally in the Kurdish region of Diyarbakir.

ROGER HUTCHINGS/NETWORK

Ismet Imset, columnist for Istanbul's *Ozgur Ulke* newspaper

A serial bomb attack was carried out on three offices of a Turkish newspaper early last Saturday morning (3 December 1994). The *Ozgur Ulke*, a pro-Kurdish newspaper, has suffered dearly owing to this attack, which left behind one dead and 23 wounded. This attack came only four days after Turkey's military-dominated National Security Council held a meeting in which a decision was taken to silence Kurdish aspirations and demands. Both the Turkish Chief of General Staff and the Interior Minister are on record saying '*Ozgur Ulke* should be stopped'. The day of the attack the leader of the ultra-right-wing Nationalist Action Party, Alpaslan Turkes, issued a statement in which he said 'We will not refrain from shedding blood' in preventing Kurds from having their social and cultural rights.

Ozgur Ulke is a continuation of *Ozgur Gundem*, a newspaper which was closed down last April following systematic attacks. Fifteen of its journalists were killed in that period while 330 separate court cases were launched. Its previous owner faces jail terms of up to 1,250 years for the commentaries and articles published in the paper. Journalists writing for *Ozgur Ulke*, including myself, are constantly threatened with death. Many of its employees have been detained and tortured by Turkish police in the past months and at least two of the detained are still registered among Turkey's 230 'missing' cases in 1994. The body of one missing reporter was recently found – after being tortured and mutilated. Pressure on the newspaper is so great that although it has legal status in Turkey, kiosks selling it are routinely bombed and even children, 10- to 15-year-old street sellers, are killed. ■



You may be thinking of organizing a military coup and taking over your country. But would this be a good move in the long term? Would you end up in jail or could you look forward to a nice little villa in the sun? This look at the current whereabouts of the world's most notorious former dictators may help you make your decision.

where are

Still crazy after all these years...

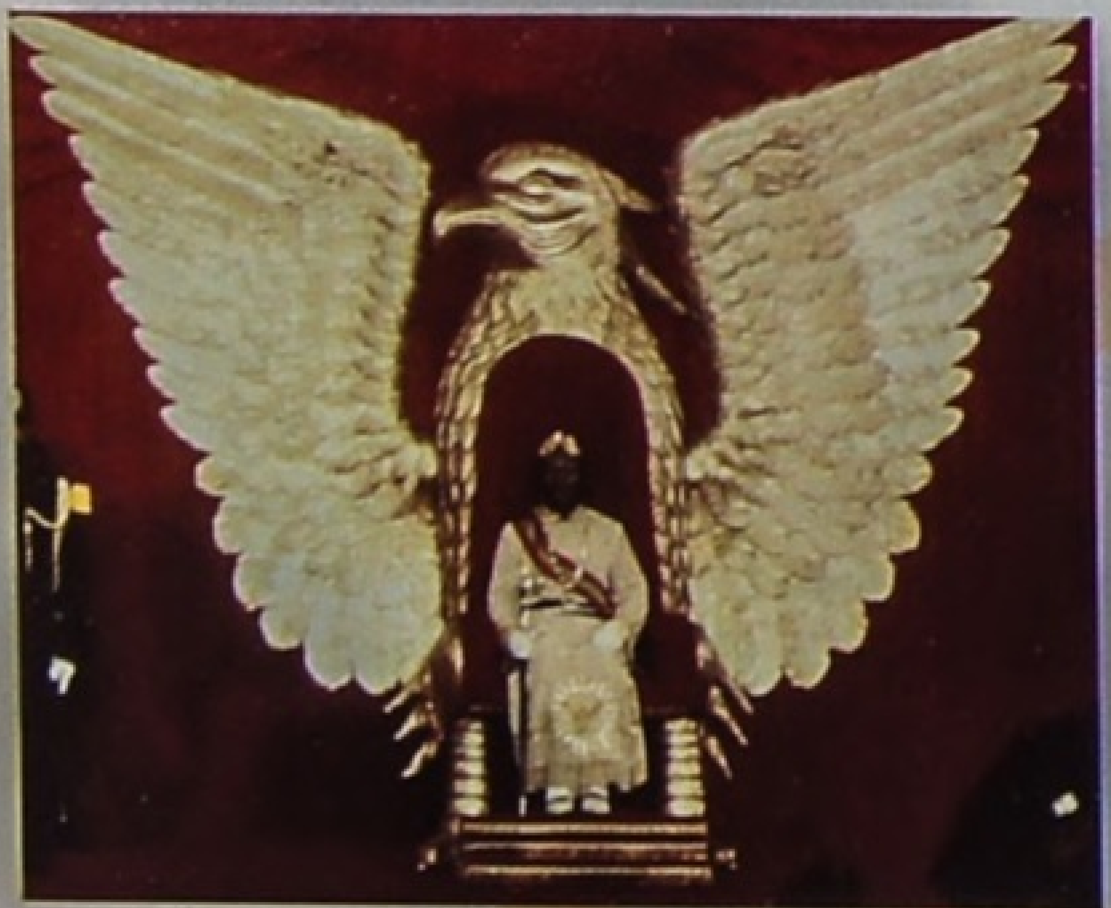
POL POT

THEN – Born Saloth Sar, he has preferred since his student days to be known as Pol Pot, which means 'Original Cambodian'. When he rose to power as head of the Khmer Rouge in 1975, he saw himself as grand designer of a new society. The rare photo above shows a smiling father-figure leading his people into the promised land of an enforced agricultural lifestyle. Virtually all educated people were liquidated and 1.5 million people perished in this holocaust before the Khmer Rouge were ousted by Vietnam's invasion in 1979.

NOW – Pol Pot stays in the background because of his 'unfortunate' international reputation but he is still leader of the Khmer Rouge, which holds large areas of western Cambodia by force of terror. He could yet return to power in Phnom Penh.

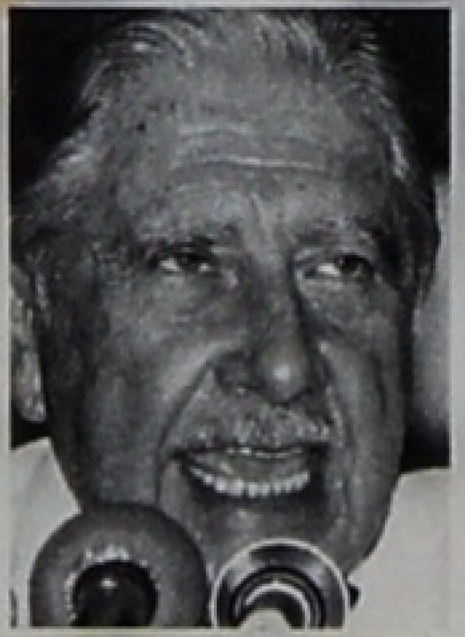
JEAN BEDEL BOKASSA

THEN – Bokassa served in the French Army for 22 years before seizing power in the Central African Republic in 1965. He suffered from delusions of grandeur that culminated when he crowned himself emperor in 1977 in a ceremony costing $28 million. In 1979 100 students demonstrated against a law requiring them to buy their uniforms in stores owned by the Emperor – and were tortured and killed under his personal supervision. Later that year France could bear his eccentricities no more and deposed him.



NOW – Bokassa took refuge in France. But he was so homesick that he returned home in 1986, where he was tried and found guilty of cannibalism, murder and misappropriating $170 million of public funds. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was then released in a general amnesty in September 1993. While in prison Bokassa came up with a delusion of a different kind – he now declares himself to be the thirteenth Apostle of Christ. He lives alone in a small three-bedroom house in the capital, Bangui.

AUGUSTO PINOCHET



THEN – Backed by the CIA and the multinational corporation ITT, General Pinochet led the coup that deposed and killed socialist President Allende in 1973. The military dictatorship that Pinochet then oversaw used torture and extrajudicial execution to maintain its hold while using Chile as a laboratory for the world's first major experiment with monetarism.

NOW – In 1988 a plebiscite refused to extend Pinochet's rule. So he altered the constitution to reduce the powers of the incoming elected President – and left himself head of the armed forces. All the other South American dictators are gone but Pinochet has found the perfect solution: Chile now has the squeaky-clean sheen of democracy yet he still has his finger on the trigger.

Exile has its compensations...

ALFREDO STROESSNER

THEN – General Stroessner seized power in Paraguay in 1954. Of German descent, he was a great admirer of Nazism: this showed not only in the refuge he offered to war criminals but also in his ruthless methods. His idea of opposition parties was to appoint their leaders himself. But democratization elsewhere in Latin America in the mid-1980s helped strengthen popular organization and he was finally deposed on 3 February 1989.

NOW – Stroessner took refuge in Brazil, where he still enjoys a quiet but very comfortable retirement in a mansion in the capital, Brasilia. Now 83, he still feels the need of a heavy guard around his house – but old soldiers are used to that. He frequently visits former military comrades to reminisce about the good old days when Brazil was also a dictatorship and gave him its highest military honour. He is fond of fishing – and is a devoted fan of Xuxa, a Barbie-doll lookalike celebrity who hosts children's TV.

RAOUL CEDRAS

THEN – General Cedras seized power in Haiti in 1991 after the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. He ruled with the rod of iron associated with Haiti's infamous former dictators, the Duvaliers (see 'Baby Doc', page 14): there were at least 4,000 political assassinations and more than 40,000 fled the country in boats for the US. He fled into exile in September 1994 when the US sent an invasion force under the banner of the UN.

NOW – Cedras is now in Panama, the only rival to France as the favourite haven for former dictators – Juan Domingo Peron of Argentina and the Shah of Iran once took refuge there, and Guatemala's Jorge Serrano is a great success as a racehorse owner. Cedras has a penthouse suite in a building called 'The Emperor' in Panama City's wealthy Punta Paitilla area where he jogs each morning on the seafront and where neighbours say they are surprised 'how nice he is'. He is not short of cash: the US State Department alone pays him $5,000 a month in rent for his properties in Haiti. Panama University Professor Miguel Antonio Bernal complains: 'Our country is being used as a wastebasket for the political toxic waste of the world.'

they now?

MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

THEN – Colonel Mengistu assumed control in 1977 of the military government that had dethroned Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie three years earlier. He was backed by the Soviet Union and followed Stalin's lead in establishing a one-party state and waging all-out war on separatist movements which threatened the 'unity' of the country (and the supremacy of Mengistu's own Amharic people). He was hoist by his own petard, beaten in battle by the Eritreans and Tigrayans.

NOW – Mengistu fled to Harare in 1991, where he has been hosted in some style. But he has run into trouble over his phone bills, which are averaging $4,600 a month and are paid by the Zimbabwean Government. His hosts' patience snapped recently when Mengistu urged Ethiopians to rise up against their new government – with which Zimbabwe has full diplomatic relations. Foreign Minister Nathan Shamyarira told him to shut up. Mengistu should take care in case they extradite him – he is currently on trial in absentia in Addis Ababa for 'crimes against humanity'.

IDI AMIN DADA

THEN – Amin was probably the most notorious of all Africa's post-independence dictators. His larger-than-life build (he was Uganda's heavyweight boxing champion between 1951 and 1960) and addiction to fatuous pronouncements made him a laughing stock in some quarters of the West in the 1970s. But he was no joke at home – particularly for the 50,000 Asians who were expelled from the country in 1972 or for Jewish people whose land and property he seized in one of his fits of explicitly Hitlerite antisemitism.

NOW – Deposed by an invading Tanzanian army in 1979, Amin and his two wives fled to Saudi Arabia, where he initially cost his hosts, the Saudi royal

(continued over)

PHOTOS (ANTICLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT): KAKU KURITA / GAMMA, JEREMY HUNTER / CAMERA PRESS, NI, LEROY / FRANK SPOONER, CAMERA PRESS, CHRISTENSEN / LIAISON / GAMMA, P. AVENTURIER / GAMMA

where are they now? (continued)

family, around $2,000 a day. He now lives a quiet life in a modest villa outside Jeddah, looking after his goats and chickens and cultivating his vegetable garden. Traditional Arab garb has replaced the bemedalled Field Marshal's uniform of his heyday. And his social highlight is meeting other Ugandan exiles for coffee in one of Jeddah's main hotels.

Down on their uppers...

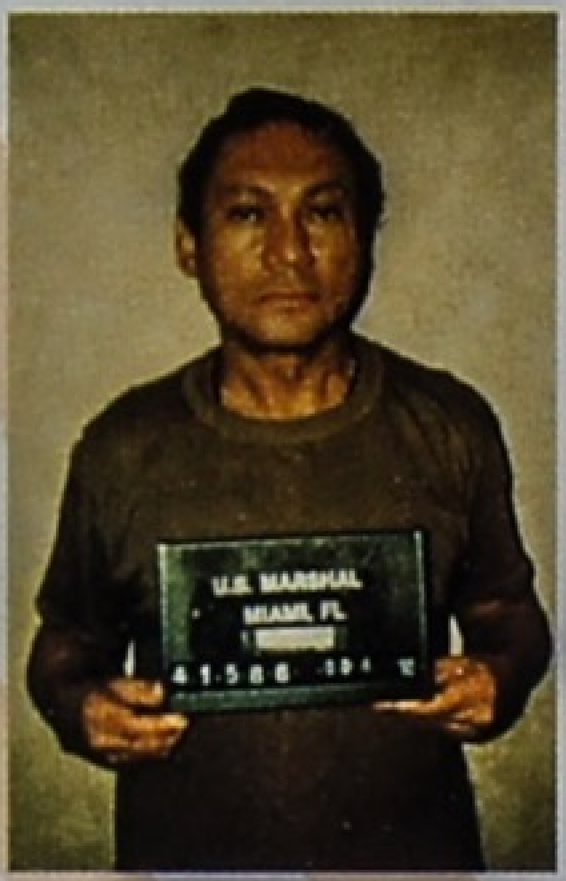
JEAN-CLAUDE DUVALIER – 'BABY DOC'

THEN – François 'Papa Doc' Duvalier ruled Haiti with an iron hand between 1957 and 1971 – with US backing. On his death he passed his title of 'President-for-life' to his son Jean-Claude, by which time Haiti had become the poorest country in the Americas. Baby Doc faced more opposition at home and abroad than his father but ruled for even longer by the same means – savage repression. By the time he was ousted in 1986 it was estimated that his regime had been responsible for 40,000 murders.

NOW – Baby Doc was offered 'temporary asylum' by France, a long-time prop to his regime – he is still there now. He set up house with his wife Michèle and their son in a palatial home on the Riviera, having carried out of Haiti a substantial chunk of a fortune once estimated at $400 million. But life is not quite so sweet now. In 1992 his wife divorced him, taking a goodly slice of his cash (her own tastes are notoriously expensive). Since then Baby Doc has spent what was left of his hoard – he is living now in a seedy, poorly maintained villa in Mougins with his mother. In 1994 his telephone was cut off because he hadn't paid his bill. Tragic, really.

MANUEL NORIEGA

THEN – General Noriega became commander-in-chief of the National Guard in Panama in 1983 and for the next six years was more powerful than the President. He was the kind of ruthless leader the US favoured in the rest of Central America and was even on the CIA payroll. But he fell foul of the US when he failed to support their plan to invade Nicaragua – they withdrew aid and imposed sanctions. The US invaded Panama with 26,000 troops on 20 December 1989: more than 4,000 Panamanians were killed and Noriega was taken prisoner.



NOW – Noriega stood trial in Miami on charges of drug trafficking and was sentenced to 40 years' imprisonment. He is still in a Florida jail contemplating the irony that he was once also the protegé of the US Drug Enforcement Agency. Meanwhile the legal office of the President the US installed in his place was discovered to have connections with 14 companies that had laundered drug money.

Home sweet home...

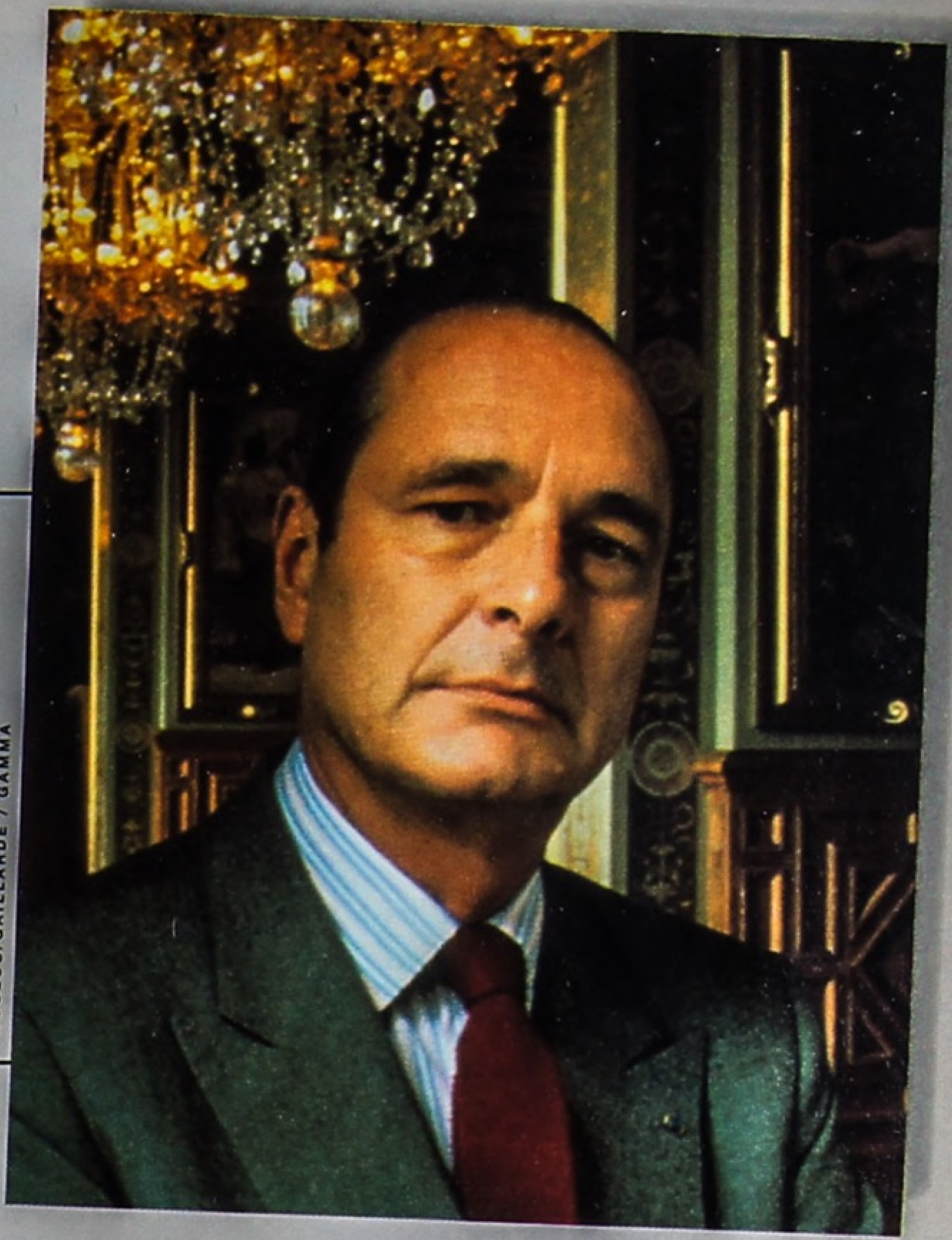
IMELDA MARCOS

THEN – Singer Imelda Romualdez married Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and enjoyed a famously luxurious lifestyle: the Marcoses salted away billions of dollars in the course of their US-backed rule between 1965 and 1986. Imelda enjoyed the exercise of power too: she was Governor of Metro Manila from 1975 onwards and also, bizarrely, Minister of Ecology. When the couple were eventually deposed by 'people power', invaders of the Presidential Palace came across Imelda's phantasmagoric collection of designer footwear.

NOW – The Marcoses went into exile in Hawaii, where Ferdinand died in 1989. Imelda returned to the Philippines in 1991 and stood unsuccessfully in the Presidential elections of 1992. In 1993 she was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for criminal graft and to other long sentences for corruption. She is still free while she appeals and was elected to Congress in May 1995. Meanwhile, in its attempts to recover the lost Marcos billions from Swiss bank accounts and other shadier locations the Philippines Government has, after paying its US lawyers, recovered the princely sum of $2,000. ■

PHOTOS: (CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT): P. SICCOLI / GAMMA, GAMMA / LIAISON, FRANCK CAMHI / FRANK SPOONER

Name:
Jacques René Chirac


DUCLOS/GAILLARDE / GAMMA

POSITION:
President of France

HISTORY:

Born on 19 November 1932. He did military service in Algeria, which was then a French colony. Became head of Georges (later President) Pompidou's private office in 1962. Elected to the National Assembly in 1967, he immediately achieved ministerial rank, first in employment then in finance, parliamentary relations, agriculture, and the interior. He was Prime Minister 1974-76 and again 1986-88, was elected to the European Parliament in 1979 and has been Mayor of Paris since 1977. In May 1995 he became President.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES TO THE TEAM:

Chirac is a power junkie. He has been working towards the office of President more or less since he first drew breath – and he managed it finally at the third attempt, having been rejected in 1981 and 1988. He has been in and around the heart of the French governing establishment almost all his adult life.

Which is why his presence in the dock does not have to relate only to the few months he has been at the very top of the greasy pole: if anyone is to stand trial for France's colonial arrogance there is no better candidate than Chirac. In his last term as Prime Minister there was a furore over TV pictures of the police beating up independence campaigners in New Caledonia/Kanaky. Chirac's response was to say he was shocked at the importance ascribed to such a 'banal event'.

Chirac is desperate to emulate Charles de Gaulle, the man who started nuclear tests in 1960 in another then-colony, Algeria, only to shift them to Polynesia when a freak wind shift carried radioactive fallout north into France. When Chirac wanted to build up his image as a strong leader it was no surprise that he chose to do so by playing up to the military, trampling all over a colony and ignoring world opinion – all in the manner of de Gaulle. If his opinion-poll ratings continue to plummet the world had better watch out.

A group of 25 Danish schoolchildren who arrived at the Gare du Nord in Paris last November caught the first fallout: they were surrounded by 22 police officers and ordered to strip off their T-shirts, which were printed with anti-nuclear symbols and the words 'Chirac No'. Insecurity may already be taking root in the Elysée Palace.

CHARGES:

▶ **Endangering the future of humankind** by undermining the global consensus that nuclear testing should cease – through the ongoing series of underground explosions at Moruroa and Fangataufa in French Polynesia/Te Ao Maohi.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES:

Actually the opposition to the renewed French tests has been so strong and so universal that he or any other leader of a nuclear power will find it even harder to start testing again.

▶ **By testing nuclear weapons in Polynesia France is in clear breach of its obligations under Articles 34, 35 and 192 of the EURATOM Treaty of the European Union.** The European Commission is also culpable since under the terms of the Treaty it should have required France to suspend its testing programme.

◆ Article 34 requires member states performing 'particularly dangerous experiments' to obtain the Commission's prior opinion on the additional health-and-safety measures it proposes to apply

◆ Articles 35 and 36 requires radioactivity to be monitored and the European Commission to be kept informed of the levels to which the public is exposed

◆ Article 192 requires member states to take all appropriate measures to ensure compliance with the Treaty

Chirac said in the election campaign that he would begin his presidency 'with a big bang' – he sure delivered it. Why is the European Union so unwilling to take action against France? Because it's too embarrassing? Because French Polynesia is too far away to bother about? Because Britain, another nuclear power, shamelessly supports Chirac's tests? It all goes to show why a court with a global remit like ours is needed. Though even we can't challenge here the outrageous assumption of France, Britain, the US, Russia and China that it's okay for them to have nuclear weapons but too dangerous for any other country to join the club.

▶ **Remaining wedded to a colonial view of the world.** France's remaining 'dependencies' are Guadeloupe, Martinique (in the Caribbean); French Guyana (in South America); Reunion, Mayotte (in the Indian Ocean), Saint Pierre et Miquelon (in the North Atlantic); New Caledonia/Kanaky, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia/Te Ao Maohi (in the Pacific).

And this is not the full story since almost all France's former colonies in Africa are dominated by it economically and even militarily when push comes to shove. The African franc is linked to the French and was recently halved in value at the insistence of Paris and the IMF. New Caledonia is a classic case: the indigenous Kanaks are confined to 'reservations' with access to only ten per cent of the arable land and to very little of the money creamed off by resident European entrepreneurs. Chirac's determination to hold on to the colony may have something to do with its having the world's second largest deposits of nickel.

▶ ANTICIPATED DEFENCE

The tests are perfectly safe. Besides, we have agreed to stop them after this series and use computer simulations in future. In any case, French Polynesia is not a colony – it is simply the least populated part of France.

I suggest we let him hang himself: nothing he says about the safety of the tests is likely to persuade the jury; and any comment he makes about the status of French Polynesia is likely to betray his imperial arrogance.

▶ REQUESTED SENTENCE

A mandatory referendum on the nuclear-testing issue – Chirac to resign as President if it goes against him.

The French might still vote to continue – but at least they would have been forced to confront the nuclear and colonial issues as they never have before. I wish we could add that any future tests must be conducted in mainland France – that would stop them.

WITNESSES for the PROSECUTION

Oscar Temaru, Tahiti-based leader of the independence movement in French Polynesia, an area known to local people as Te Ao Maohi

It is now 150 years since the French colonialists have conquered and killed the indigenous Maohi people of our once peaceful paradise: the Maohi people, armed with nothing but stones against the French cannons and rifles. Then as if that were not enough the genocide machine continued and evolved into a more sophisticated form with nuclear prostitution. The French colonialists have completely destroyed our productive base thus leaving our people, representing 80 per cent of the population, completely dependent upon the new French king called Jacques Chirac. The French, a 13-per-cent minority in Polynesia, continue to support Gaston Flosse, a sell-out who is a multi-millionaire [his fortune is estimated at $20 million] charged with corruption on numerous counts in the French courts. Jacques Chirac is the godfather to Flosse's son.

Why such contempt against my people, whose only desire is to live freely as

NON à la BOMBE
OUI à l'INDÉPENDANCE

STEVE MORGAN/ENVIRONMENTAL PICTURE LIBRARY

dignified people in peace and harmony with our heritage of fertile lands and sea? Chirac has proven to the world that the Maohi people's right to self-determination and freedom is not important next to the white man's colonialist interest. We are a peace-loving people and have never committed any harm to anyone – yet the mere existence of my race is at stake because of this evil war criminal. May God save us. I plead to all peace-loving citizens to help the Maohi people, for one day this could happen elsewhere.
(A special statement prepared for the NI)

TAHITI
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Not-so-Pacific resistance. Tahitians riot in protest after the first of France's latest series of nuclear tests in September 1995 – and, below left, demonstrate for peace and independence back in June.

David Lange, former Prime Minister of New Zealand and still a Labour MP

Chirac is a lying sod. Chirac is the person who brought two people off the island of Hau in absolute defiance of the treaty with New Zealand... He was at the airport to welcome back Dominique Prieur [the French secret-service agent convicted of bombing the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior in Auckland harbour, who with her fellow agent under a UN-sponsored treaty was supposed to stay in prison in the Pacific]. He is the ultimate manipulator of opinion in terms of his own self advancement and I wouldn't trust a word that he wrote or that he said...

[Nuclear testing] is a pay-off to the military establishment by President Chirac as well as draping across himself the mantle of glory which all Gaullists aspire to. He has probably bartered a deal with them that this is the last time they be allowed to play with their toys and in a few months' time he might turn his mind to actually getting jobs instead of spending billions of francs blowing holes in the ground half a world away.

I can't imagine any nation on earth with less justification for having a nuclear deterrent. France has been looked after by everyone in combat in years past, and New Zealanders to the tune of 8,000-odd died there looking after France.
(Assignment, TVNZ)

Toimata, a Tahitian whose husband worked at Moruroa, site of the French nuclear tests

My second baby was born prematurely at seven and a half months and died the day he was born.

My third baby was born at home at full term but died there two weeks later. She had a skin problem. Her skin would come off immediately if it was touched...

Eugene, my fourth baby, was born at full term but died when he was two months old. He had diarrhoea and we took him to Mamaom, the hospital in Tahiti. The diarrhoea continued for some time. When it stopped, it was replaced by another condition. The baby became rigid, like wood. Every part of his body was racked by continuous muscular contractions and he had a high temperature. It was impossible to open his fists. The doctors would not talk about his condition. He was at Mamao for two weeks and then he died...

Our fifth child is alive and well. The sixth was born at full term in a clinic. Everything went well during the pregnancy and at her birth but the doctors said that she was premature and she was transferred to Mamao and put into an incubator. She died the next day...

The seventh is alive and very well. My eighth was still born prematurely at six and a half months. My ninth baby died when she was eight months old. She was a very fat baby and they said she had a blood infection.

The tenth child was born mid-1985. She has had an airway infection and a heart condition since birth...

I feel physically well myself. I have two sisters. Neither of them have had any problems with their children's health except for one having had two premature stillbirths, one as a result of a bad fall. I think my children have died because my husband worked at Moruroa.
(Testimonies, Greenpeace International)

Jacques Cousteau, celebrated French oceanographer.

Now 85, he recently resigned from France's Council for the Rights of Future Generations in protest at Chirac's decision to resume nuclear testing

[The tests] are an unavowed menace to future generations... We don't want any kind of atomic weapons. Chemical weapons have been outlawed. Bacterial warfare has been outlawed. Why not atomic? They are all weapons of mass destruction. So why try to twist the question to bring it back to details when the goal is a total ban. We want to outlaw the atom bomb and tests can only lead to another bomb. The only reason they want to test their bomb is to improve it. And we don't want them... Opinion polls show 62 per cent of the population in France is against it. The problem is government.
(Los Angeles Times)

Ida Tinorua and her daughter Eliane, from Tahiti

Ida: I tell you frankly that President Chirac is a murderer. We're not happy about what he's done in our country. So we say he's a murderer. It's true. Even my grandchildren when they see him on TV say 'Grandmother, it's that murderer!'

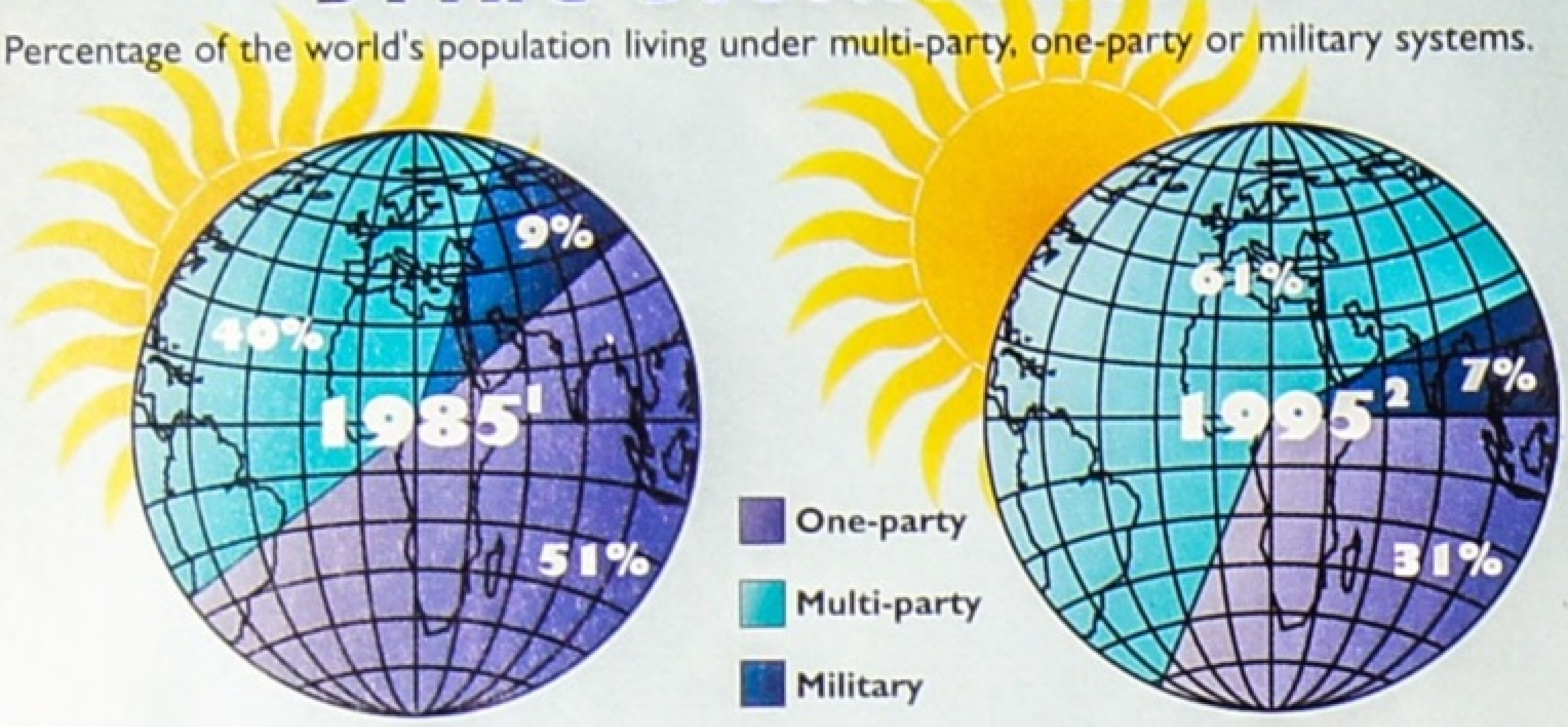
Eliane: They say the bomb tests are perfectly safe. So why not do them in their country? That way we'll see if they're safe.
(Assignment, TVNZ) ■

HUMAN RIGHT

The world's nations are significantly freer from dictatorship than t
existence of some truly nasty regimes which have erected a

DYING DICTATORSHIP

Percentage of the world's population living under multi-party, one-party or military systems.

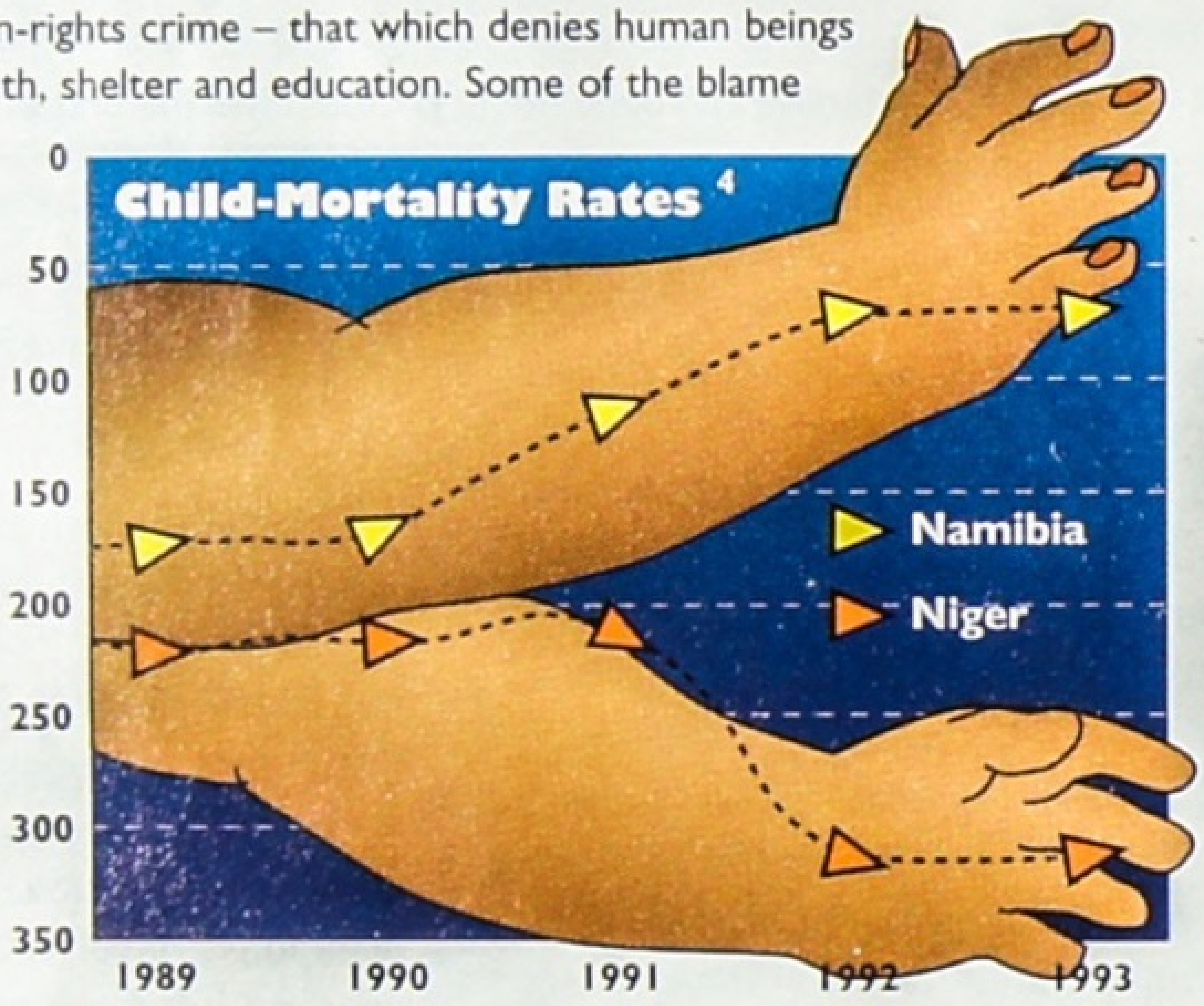


The improvement is genuine but the figure for multi-party democracy should still be treated with caution since it includes countries like Mexico and Russia where the democratic practice is far short of ideal.

THE OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS

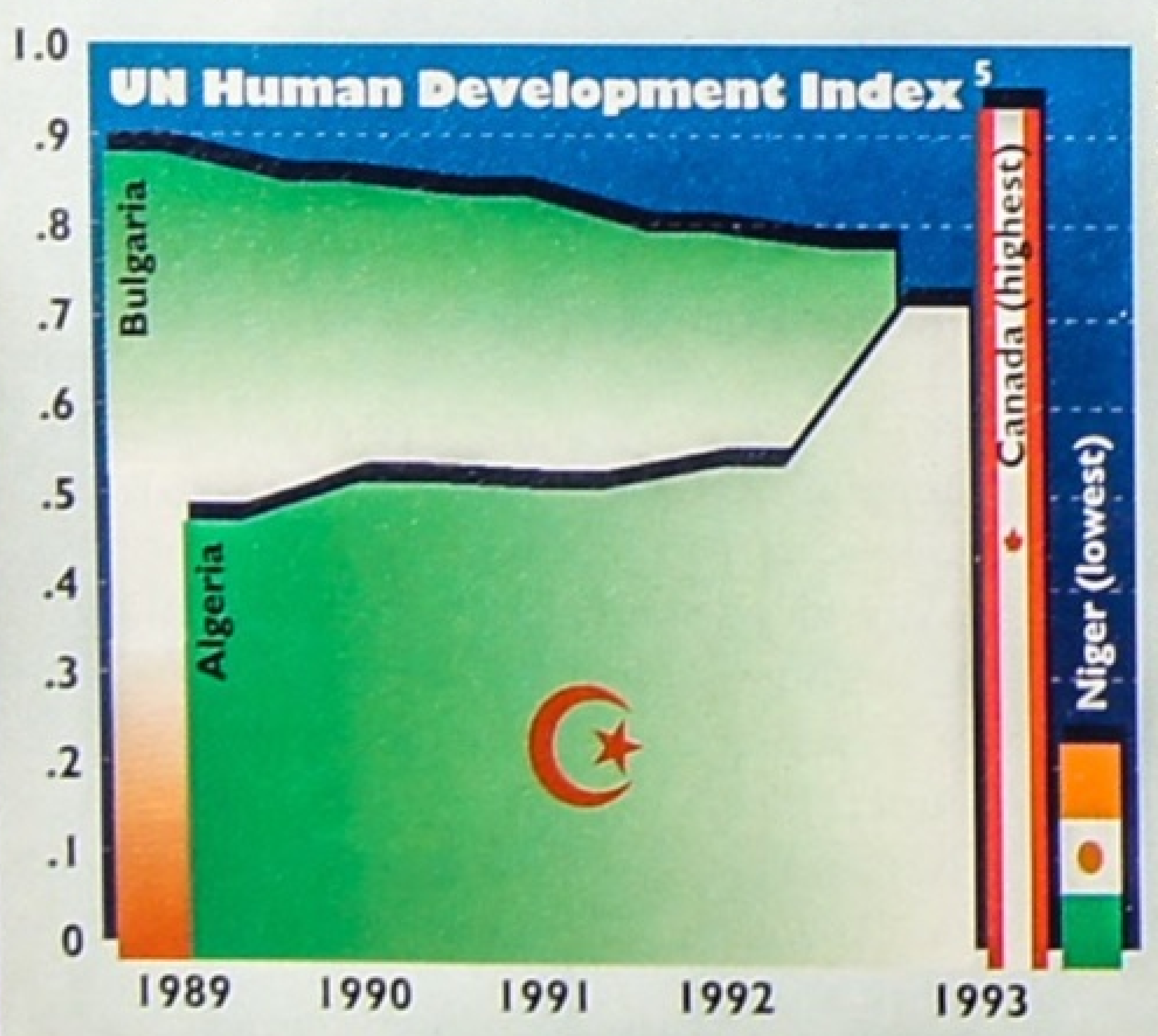
There is another kind of human-rights crime – that which denies human beings their basic needs for food, health, shelter and education. Some of the blame for this attaches to individual Majority World governments for failing to make human development a priority. But rich countries' insistence on global economic priorities that grind down the poorest must also bear their share of the blame.

The child-mortality rate is a good index of a country's human-development position since children are the most vulnerable when times are hard.



- The highest child-mortality rate in the world is in Niger, which due to a calamitous decline in the last five years now has exactly the same child death rate as it did in 1960 (see above).
- The biggest improvement in child-mortality rate over the same five-year period came in Namibia, newly liberated from South African rule and able to prioritize the basic needs of its citizens for the first time (see above).
- Finland now has the lowest child-death rate in the world – just five per thousand live births.

Another good index of progress in meeting basic needs is the Human Development Index (HDI) compiled by the UN Development Programme. The chart below shows that the biggest decline in HDI rating over the last five years has come in Bulgaria, suffering as it replaces state control with the free market.



- The biggest improvement in the last five years has surprisingly come in Algeria, despite the war between the repressive government and the fundamentalist FIS.
- In both Bulgaria and Algeria the change has arisen due to shifts in gross national product rather than the education or health components of the Index.
- Again Niger has the lowest HDI in the world while a rich country, Canada, has the highest.

THE WORLD'S TEN WORST DICTATORSHIPS[3]:

These ten regimes still rule over some 1,745 million people – 31 per cent of the world's population.

Ruler: State Law and
Order Restoration Coun
(SLORC), chaired by
General Than Shwe.

Prisoners: At least 1,000
political prisoners are hel
in inhuman conditions.
Thousands of people fron
ethnic minorities have bee
seized by the military and
forced to work as porters
or on construction projec

Ruler: General Sani Abacha

Prisoners: There are 80 prisoners of conscience who are routinely beaten and held incommunicado in harsh conditions.

Executions: At least 100 people were executed in 1994, usually by firing squad in front of large crowds. Dozens of pro-democracy demonstrators were also killed by police. Around 700 Ogoni people have been extrajudicially executed in recent years.

Opposition: None is permitted. Chief Moshood Abiola, probable winner of the aborted 1994 election, has been in prison for two years. Ken Saro-Wiwa, celebrated writer and Ogoni leader was executed in November. Nevertheless, widespread re
tinues.

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Ruler: Now 91, Deng Xiao
is unable to speak and poss
to understand yet is still 'co
sulted'. President Jiang Zem
has taken all his posts and
hopes for a smooth dictato
transition.

Prisoners: Tens of thousa
of political prisoners. Rout
torture methods include b
ings, electric shocks, shack
sleep deprivation and expo

Ruler: President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

Prisoners: Thousands of political prisoners. Torture methods include beatings on the soles of the feet and suspending people by the wrists or ankles. Courts routinely sentence people to amputation. Scores of women are flogged each year for violating the dress code.

Executions: At least 139 in 1994, some hanged in public. But Amnesty International believes the real number is considerably higher. Religious-minority leaders and even Iranians in exile are threatened with extrajudicial execution.

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Ruler: Saddam Hussein

Prisoners: Tens of thousands of political prisoners. Torture is widespread. Amputation became a widely used legal punishment for criminals in 1994: the right hand for a first offence, the left foot or the ears for a second.

Executions: The exact number of legal executions in 1994 is unknown but they were numerous. The death penalty has been extended to cover 18 new offences. Security forces have murdered many unarmed civilians, especially Marsh Arabs in the south.

Opposition: None is permitted. Kurdish armed resistance continues in the north, though Kurdish forces are fragn
at odds with ea

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1 *World Human Rights Guide*, Charles Humana (Pan 1987).
2 The **NI**'s own estimate.
3 The information in this section has been compiled with help from from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.
4 *State of the World's Children Report 1991-95*, UNICEF.
5 *Human Development Report 1991-95*, UNDP.

S - THE FACTS

n they were ten years ago. But this encouraging trend masks the
d a wall of repression around a third of the world's people.

BURMA

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jects.

Executions: No legal executions were reported in 1994, though there were numerous extrajudicial executions of ethnic-minority villagers by the Army.

Opposition: None is permitted. 1990 election winner Aung San Suu Kyi is no longer under house arrest but thousands of less prominent activists struggle under appalling conditions.

NI Assessment: A police state with intense surveillance and widespread fear. The SLORC is determined to retain power and is impervious to international disapproval. Pariahs they may be but Western companies still do a roaring trade with them.

SYRIA

Ruler: Hafez al-Assad

Prisoners: The thousands of political prisoners include Lebanese and Palestinians. Torture of political detainees is widespread, the most common methods being *falaqa* (beatings on the soles of the feet) and *dullab* (where the victim is suspended from a tyre and beaten).

Executions: Two people were executed in 1994.

Opposition: None is permitted. The Party for Communist Action, the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Nasserist Democratic Popular Organization have all tried to organize and been crushed.

NI Assessment: Once damned as an 'exporter of terrorism' worse than his neighbour Saddam Hussein, Assad now has the fawning attention of a West desperate for him to recognize Israel. It shows a Western policy influenced more by geopolitics than by concern for human rights and democracy.

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INDONESIA

Ruler: General Suharto

Prisoners: At least 350, many of them prisoners of conscience. Beatings and electric shocks are the most common torture methods.

Executions: No legal executions in 1994, though there were many extrajudicial executions, especially of East Timorese and Acehnese people. Sixty alleged criminals were killed while in police custody.

Opposition: Despite claims of a new 'political openness' the Government has intensified repression of both critics and human-rights activists. Opposition is more organized in the independence-seeking regions of Aceh, East Timor and West Papua – but so is the military's response.

NI Assessment: Suharto came to power 30 years ago on a tide of bloodshed and his regime has retained its ruthlessness. But the country's huge potential market lends it respectability in Western eyes.

ZAIRE

Ruler: President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Prisoners: There are hundreds of prisoners of conscience. Torture and beatings are common.

Executions: There were no legal executions in 1994, though dozens of civilians were murdered by security forces.

Opposition: Opposition parties are allowed but their members are subject to arrest, physical attack or 'disappearance'. Journalists critical of Mobutu may be detained or even 'disappear'.

NI Assessment: Still grimly hanging on to power and ill-gotten riches, Mobutu has been an embarrassment to Africans for nearly three decades. Concerted Western pressure could pay dividends here.

CHINA

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Executions: At least 1,791 in 1994 but the true figure was probably much higher.

Opposition: None is permitted. Demonstrators are detained without trial. New laws in 1994 clamped down even harder on freedom of expression and association.

NI Assessment: China now has the worst of both worlds: Mao-style political repression without a trace of Mao's egalitarianism; an increasingly rampant free market with no chance to protest. The West has swallowed its objections rather than forgo the delights of trade with the world's second largest economy.

pposition: None is permit-
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enalty. The People's
ojahedin Organization offers
med resistance, as do
urdish and Baluchi guerrillas.
I Assessment: Rafsanjani's
uch-touted 'moderation' is
hical. In practice his regime
little less fearsome than that
his predecessor Khomeini.

SUDAN

Ruler: General Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir

Prisoners: Hundreds of political opponents have been detained without charge. Routine torture methods include beatings and prolonged exposure to the sun. The courts regularly sentence people to be flogged.

Executions: There were no lawful executions in 1994, though hundreds of civilians were murdered by security forces.

Opposition: All independent political activity is suppressed and a state of emergency in force. In southern Sudan the Government is at war with two factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

NI Assessment: Bashir competes with Abacha of Nigeria for the unenviable title of Africa's worst tyrant.

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SAUDI ARABIA

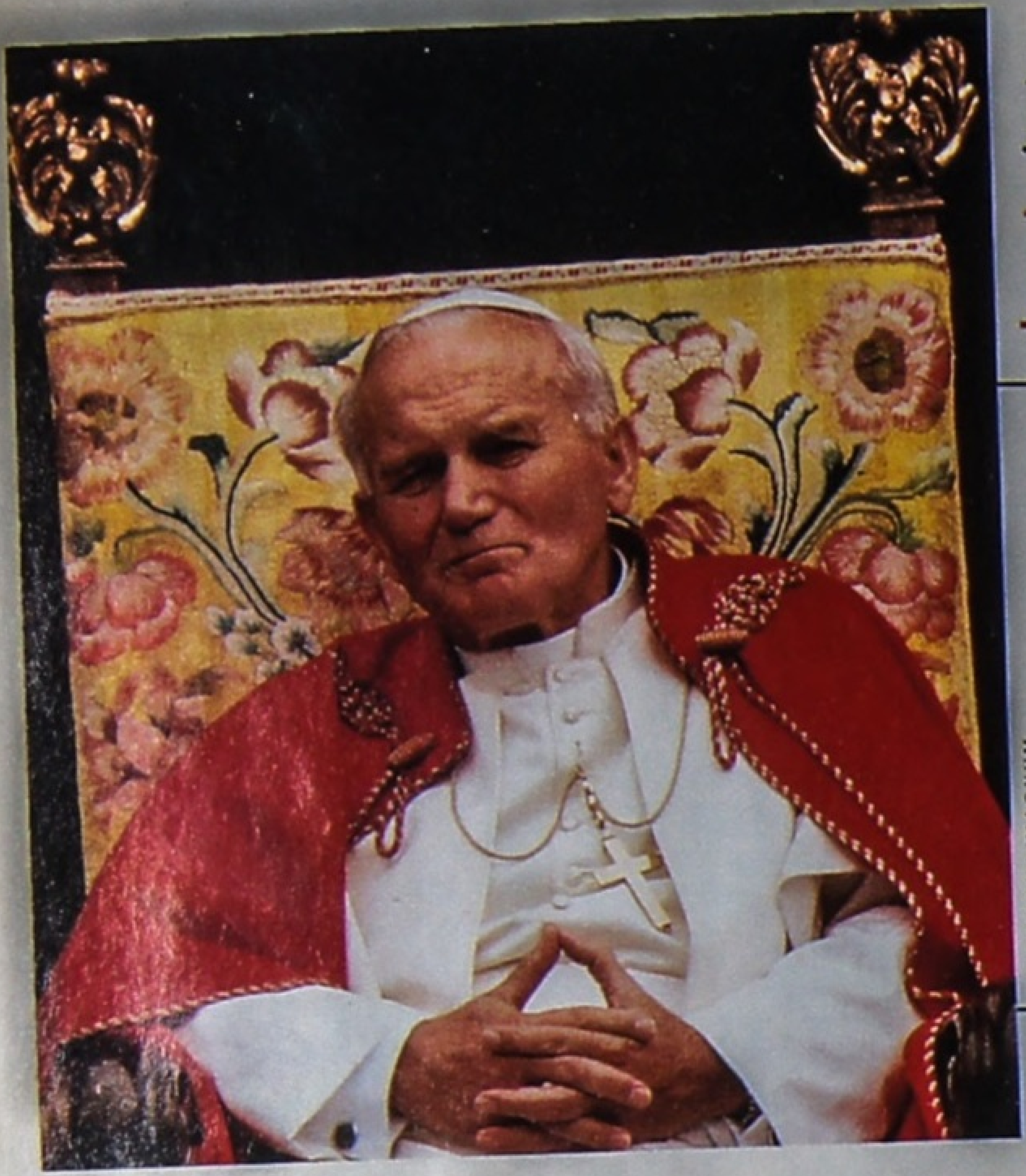
Ruler: King Fahd bin 'Abdul-'Aziz

Prisoners: Hundreds of Islamist opponents are detained and held without charge for long periods. Prisoners and detainees are routinely beaten and held incommunicado in harsh conditions. Amputation is commonly imposed by the courts.

Executions: At least 53 people were executed in 1994, all by public beheading.

Opposition: Neither religious nor political opposition is permitted. The main religious opposition comes from Sunni Islamists; political resistance comes from the banned Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights, whose leaders are now exiled in Britain.

NI Assessment: Western criticism of Saudi Arabia's archaic absolute monarchy and its dreadful human-rights record has been notable by its absence – it not only has oil but is seen as a key conservative ally in the Middle East. The silence must end. Money talks – but it should not be allowed to swear.



F SCIANNA/MAGNUM

Name: Karol Wojtyla.

POSITION:

Pope – President-for-life of the Roman Catholic Church and the Vatican mini-state.

HISTORY:

Born on 18 May 1920 in Wadowice, Poland; educated at Jagielloncia University in Cracow and the Angelicum in Rome. Ordained as a priest in 1946, he was Professor of Moral Theology at the Universities of Cracow and Lublin between 1953 and 1958. He became Archbishop of Cracow in 1963 and was made a cardinal in 1967. In October 1978 he was elected Pope and took the name John Paul II.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES TO THE TEAM:

This is the Big One. This is why the newspaper commentators are already writing the obituaries for this court. How could we have been so insane as to challenge a representative of God? Isn't this hubris of the highest order which invites the most precipitous fall from grace?

They may be right. But our brief was to take on the cases that no national court could deal with, to act in the interests of humanity in general. And who else is going to challenge a Pope? Still, if any of you are harbouring dark doubts about participating in this one you'd better let me know before we walk into that courtroom. I'll understand.

We can't just wait for him to pass on and for a more sensible Catholic leader to emerge. After all, the next Pope could be even worse – the Archbishop of Bologna, for whom John Paul has a soft spot, is thought to be in the running, and he likes to bait Italy's liberal press with blasts against gays, feminists, AIDS victims, unwed mothers and pro-choice activists. He once likened ordaining women as priests to celebrating Communion with Coca-Cola.

Whenever I considered dropping this case I thought of all those people we called as witnesses who told us of the pain caused them by the deadening hand of the Vatican. At first they were eager to talk, to give their pent-up anger a productive outlet. But time and again, after sleepless nights of guilt and fear, they would withdraw – Catholic education bites deep, even in those who have long ago rejected it.

We owe it to them to proceed – owe it to all those who screamed but could not give us their names.

CHARGES:

▶ **Denial of fundamental human rights through the continuing ban on Catholics using contraception** – This has damaged the lives of millions of people, ensuring that unwanted children were conceived whose arrival put their families under economic strain. It also continues to place an inestimable burden of guilt upon those Catholics who have recognized that they have no alternative but to use contraception but who fear they will suffer for all eternity as a result.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES:

All the charges relate to the ban on birth control. I know some of you wanted to include the Vatican's murky financial dealings or the Pope's suppression of liberation theology in Latin America. But this will be a contentious, explosive case and I wish to limit it to territory that is incontestable in virtually the whole world outside the Catholic priesthood. The ruling on contraception is so far out of step with common-sense opinion – let alone people's manifest needs – that it defies belief.

▶ **Infringing women's right to equality, again through the ban on contraception** – Women who cannot control their own fertility are forced to become multiple mothers – and every unwanted child they have further reduces their ability to engage with the world of employment on an equal basis.

Of course the Vatican keeps women in the home in all kinds of ways, not just through forcing them to become mothers. According to the Pope in his recent *Letter to Women*: 'In giving themselves to others each day, women fulfil their deepest vocation.' An ever-so-slightly self-serving view for a man (even a celibate one) to pass on to the world.

▶ **Being the indirect cause of abortions** – In societies where contraception is discouraged many unwanted pregnancies inevitably end up being aborted in illegal backstreet environments which endanger the mother's life.

Some of you believe we should be attacking the Vatican line on abortion head-on rather than including it on the charge-sheet as a kind of crime. I also am pro-choice on abortion but tactically I think it's better to exploit the irony that the ban on contraception promotes what the Church considers to be an even greater evil.

WITNESSES for the PROSECUTION

If we can get rid of this man and his black-clothed and grim helpers I for one will breathe more easily.

Julia, an Italian working for the World Health Organization

In spite of my youth – I'm just 24 – I have experience of the Pope's unbending ideas, both personally and in my job. I come originally from Lombardy, and although ironically Italy is now one of the countries where papal authority is openly flouted, when I was younger things were different. I had time for the faith then; it seemed as if the more pain and personal suffering you could bear with a sort of pride, the more air miles you accumulated for that flight to Heaven. I had a secret abortion when I was 17. I was more frightened of my father than the priest. It was a living nightmare.

I've used artificial birth-control methods ever since but still shudder sometimes when passing a Catholic church or, especially, seeing a nun. For myself I feel free and able to cope now. A good education and exposure to many different parts of the world helped enormously. I guess I'm one of the lucky ones.

In my work just about everyone knows that the Catholic line on contraception is steadily worsening the health of many countries. If you have too many people sharing limited resources you get a serious health problem. I'm talking about basic poor nutrition or worse and its inevitable effect on the human body – babies as well as older people. It goes without saying that appalling social conditions are invariably present.

There's a small Catholic church just around the corner from my office. It reminds me of the one I knew as a child. It's a system, isn't it, just like McDonalds; the same taste all over the world.

Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice in Washington, US

As a feminist critic of the Vatican I have at times harbored secret doubts that I am too hard on the leaders of my Church, too hackneyed in my charges that hatred of women and fear of sexuality are at the root of Vatican positions on birth control and abortion. Could it not be true, as these male leaders now frequently claim, that they are genuinely motivated by respect for all life?

Recent events have silenced my misgivings. Misogyny is alive and well at the Vatican; women's lives still rank bottom when it comes to respect, much less value.

On 24 April Pope John Paul II crowned this year's Vatican campaign to articulate a so-called traditional vision of family and women's roles therein by beatifying two women who would serve as 'models of Christian perfection'. Beatification, a status high on the ladder to sainthood, signals the Vatican's approbation of the honored one's life – or death.

'We wish,' said the Pope, 'to pay homage to all those courageous mothers who devote themselves unreservedly to their families and who suffer to bring their children into the world.'

Fair enough, my moderated side says: you are always demanding that the Pope

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▶ **Contributing to the death of thousands of people** who have been discouraged from using condoms as a means of protecting themselves against HIV/AIDS.

'The sexual restraint of chastity is the only safe and virtuous way to put an end to the tragic plague of AIDS,' the Pope told a rally of 30,000 young people in Kampala, Uganda in 1993. This brings to mind one witness's line that the Pope has 'the greatest mind of the fifth century'.

▶ **ANTICIPATED DEFENCE**

Eternal truth does not change because human custom does. The word of God is not a fashion accessory.

It's a good line, which will paint us as bend-with-the-wind trend-followers. But it will be easy enough to counter by quoting the infallible, eternal truth as expressed by notable Popes like Rodrigo de Borgia (father of Lucrezia) or Paul IV, who founded the Inquisition.

▶ **REQUESTED SENTENCE**

An overturning of the Church's ban on contraception.

Perhaps we could also ask God to order the Pope's next incarnation to be as a woman in a Latin American shanty town doomed to bear 15 children from the age of 14 onwards.

FRED MAYER/MAGNUM

pay homage to ordinary women. Now he has done so and still you complain, seeing sexism behind even the most benign acts. But look at what's considered special about these two near-saints' lives, and think about the significance of holding them up as models, especially for young women.

The first, Gianna Beretta, an Italian paediatrician pregnant with her fourth child and suffering from a lethal uterine cancer, insisted that, if necessary, her life should be sacrificed for that of her unborn child. Of course, the sacrifice became necessary, and in 1962 she died so that her child might live.

I respect that choice: I would equally respect a woman who chose to live. I have a nagging suspicion, however, that in beatifying Gianna Beretta, the Pope is instructing us in the difference between a good mother and a bad one: a good mother will give her life for an unborn child; a bad mother might think that preserving her life would better serve her family and community. And only a very bad woman might think that she deserved to survive even if she had no family.

Still, I tell myself, Gianna Beretta's decision could be interpreted as heroic. But the second beatification is unambiguously disturbing. Elisabetta Canori Mora, a Roman who died in 1825, remained in a marriage where her husband abused her and finally abandoned her, leaving her to care alone for their children. 'Elisabetta Canori Mora,' the Pope said, 'showed, in the midst of numerous conjugal difficulties, her total fidelity to the commitment assumed in the sacrament of marriage and responsibilities deriving from it.' For staying in a lousy and destructive marriage, she is on the road to becoming a saint. Now there's a good role model for Catholic teenage girls…

There are countless building blocks in this ancient edifice of misogyny. Another recent example: Church officials were asked whether a man who had AIDS could use a condom to protect his wife from the transmission of the disease. This couple, the Vatican responded, is called by God to abstain from sex. If they find abstinence an impossible strain on their marriage and do have sex, they may not use a condom. Saving the marriage is more important than saving the woman's life.

This lack of respect for women and the palpable aversion to sexuality are timeless. Read the words of St Paul: 'Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved by bearing children.'

St Paul was wrong, especially on the last point. In this Church, it takes more than bearing children to pass the test of blessedness; total submissiveness is still the rule.

(Catholics for a Free Choice)

Mary, a mother of six from Ireland

I'm over 50 now, a little wiser maybe, but when I look back at my experiences in the Church and what happened to me and so many of my happy young friends I could cry. Sometimes I can get angry out of the blue.

I married a nice Catholic boy and was happy to bear six children before the penny dropped. I had turned into a baby machine. The reasonable income we had became, slowly, not enough. We began to argue about limiting our family. I went to family planning and was given the Pill without question. The Church said it was OK to have it 'to regulate my cycle'.

I've been taking the Pill now for almost two years. My husband thinks we finally got the hang of the rhythm method. I dare not tell him the truth – he's more frightened of Divine Retribution than me.

Margarita, 31, a nurse from the Philippines

There is so much I would like to say but still can't. I just can't get it out. It's more than fear, something else.

All I can say is that until I was old enough to leave home and get a job life was just terrible. I was in the company of more and more brothers and sisters as time passed. Hardly any money and too many times no food. My mother kept calling us her 'little blessings'.

I never understood why it was a blessing to have more children than you could clothe or feed.

Theresa, a 48-year-old sales executive from Bristol, England

The Virgin Mary terrified me, she was never a comfort. We were told how loving and kind Jesus and the Church and the Pope were – but just as frequently reminded what awaited us if we deviated, even in thought. The constant confessing of trivialities tore my mind and happiness apart.

My marriage was a disaster. After two children we really couldn't afford more. Yet I was terrified of using artificial contraception. I'd left the Church five years before this and at one level saw through it all. Yet still I was frightened of what might happen to me if I 'sinned'. I went through a terrible abortion and started drinking.

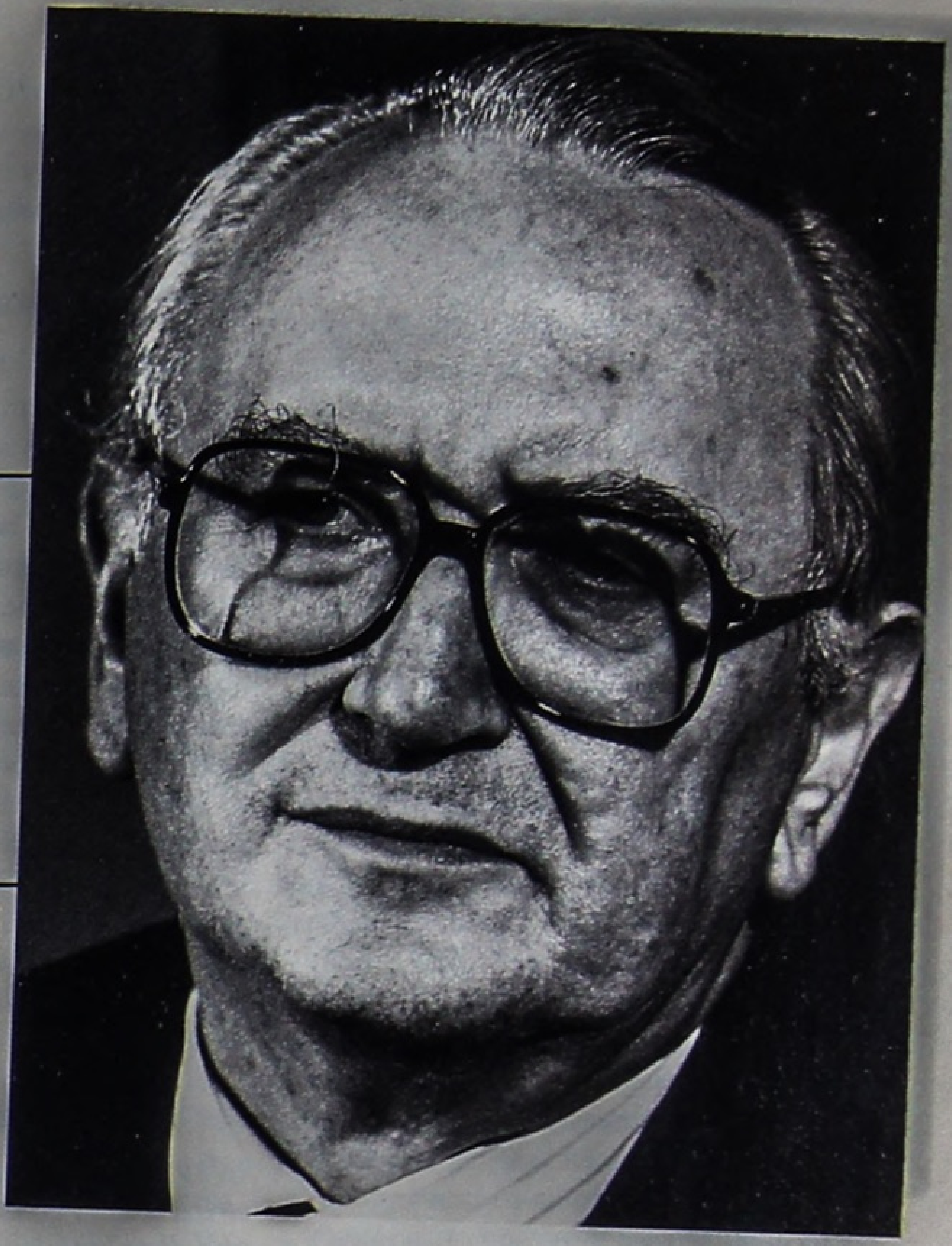
It's taken a long time to put my life back together. I wonder sometimes if I will ever really be free from those people. They did such a good job on my mind.

*(Julia, Mary, Margarita and Theresa were interviewed for the **NI** by Neil Christie-Ormond)*

Large families are common in the poorest region of Brazil, the north-east. The Pope has done all he can to suppress support in the Brazilian Church for liberation theology and social justice.

PAUL HARRISON/PANOS

Name: Helmut Maucher



NICK ROGERS/CAMERA PRESS

POSITION:
Chief Executive of Nestlé.

HISTORY:
Born on 9 December 1927 in Eisenharz/Allgäu in Germany, he joined Nestlé in 1948 as an apprentice in the local milk factory. He rose through the ranks to become Nestlé's head of operations in Germany and became chief executive of the whole company in 1982.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES TO THE TEAM:

'Why go for Maucher?' some of you have been asking. 'Surely it's Nestlé as a company which should be in the dock?' Of course it is really Nestlé – the largest food company in the world – we're putting on trial. But in a world in which it is more and more difficult for governments to call multinational corporations to account, it is vital we establish the precedent that a chief executive can be put on trial for the wrongdoings of his (always 'his', I'm afraid) company. It stands to reason that managers are going to think longer and harder before taking an unethical decision if they know they might be personally prosecuted for it.

Considering the world of corporate sharks he now inhabits, it's really rather charming that Maucher is the archetypal one-company man. He's given his whole working life to Nestlé. By the late 1970s Nestlé was in dreary decline and at its nadir in 1980 it earned less than it had nine years earlier. Staff levels at head-office were bloated and inefficient: three levels of management approval were required just to issue a press release. Maucher at that time mocked the futuristic glass-and-chrome HQ on the banks of Lake Geneva as 'the Vatican'. On that basis in 1982 he became Pope and very quickly turned the whole company round – there's no doubting the guy's ability.

He's an extrovert who wears saddle shoes and whose ties always carry the Nestlé insignia. He loves aphorisms and is fond of exhorting his troops with the line: 'Let's have more pepper and less paper'. Lucky he didn't make a career as a stand-up comedian... But he did come up with a line that wasn't half bad about Nestlé's lack of winning chocolate bars until they swallowed up Rowntree in 1988: 'In chocolate Nestlé missed the part of the world that belongs to Coca-Cola and rock'n'roll.'

CHARGES:

▶ **Aggressively pursuing sales of artificial babyfood – and so endangering the lives of children in developing countries.** Babies given formula milk instead of breastmilk are in grave danger in the Majority World not least because of the difficulty of guaranteeing the safety of water supplies with which to mix the powder. Babies all too often contract diarrhoea, which is the single biggest killer of children worldwide. According to UNICEF one and a half million babies die every year because they are not breastfed.

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES:

The way Maucher has played the babyfoods issue is instructive. Until he took over, Nestlé was trying to face down the international boycott which New Internationalist magazine helped launch in 1974. The vice-president responsible at the time was one Ernest Saunders, later to be imprisoned for fraud while chief executive of the Guinness corporation. He handled it badly. Maucher, in contrast, seemed very amenable at first, full of assurances about Nestlé's willingness to comply with critics. He so won people over that the boycott was called off in 1984 – only to be restarted in 1988 when it became clear Nestlé was reneging on many of its promises. But that not only gained the company four years, it also meant the boycott had to gather momentum from scratch. There's no question – he's a smooth operator.

▶ Repeated breaches of the 1981 World Health Organization International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. This proposes strict controls on the activities of manufacturers and calls for a ban on all promotion of breastmilk substitutes. The International Baby Food Action Network publication *Breaking the Rules 1994* detailed hundreds of allegations against Nestlé for breaching the International Code:

- In 133 cases Nestlé admits having carried out no investigation
- In 91 cases of babymilk promotion and 64 cases of babyfood promotion, Nestlé admits the practices but tries to justify them
- In 5 cases Nestlé claims that the allegations refer to old

WITNESSES for the PROSECUTION

Mike Aaronson, Director-General of Save the Children UK

The concern now strongly felt by many, including Save the Children and UNICEF, is that the babymilk manufacturers are behaving in ways which undermine the consensus and circumvent and violate the Code despite public claims to the contrary. Their interests are clear, however, as the global babyfoods market is enormous and growing. Vigilance and collaboration is essential if women who wish to breastfeed their babies are to retain the choice to do so.

A current cause for concern is a report on the use of Nestlé's formula Lactogen for infants in maternity hospitals in Kunming, Yunnan Province, China. The report was prepared by a Save the Children health-training adviser and staff of the Kunming Medical College. Based on data collected by hospital staff and the observation of trends in the city's hospitals, the report reveals a drop in breastfeeding and a large increase in the use of Lactogen due to the provision of free formula to mothers leaving hospital and the provision of formula to hospitals at less than the market price.

In Kunming at least, Save the Children believes that Nestlé's actions have undermined the principles and aim of the International Code and all relevant resolutions. Save the Children has made these concerns known to Nestlé and is pressing for a satisfactory response.
(A statement to the NI)

Rubina Gupta, Bombay, India

Rubina Gupta has bottle-fed Nestlé's Cerelac to her son, Ishrat, since he was two months old. She saw a picture of a bonny baby on a tin in a chemist and thought Cerelac would be good for Ishrat. But Rubina is illiterate. She couldn't read the instructions on the tin that said it was weaning food – only suitable for those over four months old. Trying her best for Ishrat has resulted in his being undernourished and prone to diarrhoea. With customers like Rubina does Nestlé believe it has a responsibility to do more than just stay within the law? Nestlé told 3D that in poor countries infant formula is mainly used by mothers who can afford it and use it correctly.
(As reported by Yorkshire TV's 3D, 1995)

Dr Raj Anand, Indian paediatrician

In 1992 India passed one of the world's strictest laws controlling the promotion and distribution of infant-food products.

All the [babyfood] companies are violating the Act. For example, see this [he holds up a tin of Nestlé's Lactogen 1]. Now, Nestlé says throughout the world that they like to

UNICEF/MUSHTAQ KHAN

These babies are twins. Their Pakistani mother was wrongly advised that she would not have enough breastmilk to feed both and so bottlefed her daughter while breastfeeding her son. The girl died the day after this photo was taken in Islamabad Children's Hospital. 'Use my picture,' said the mother, 'if it will help others not to make the same mistake.'

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promotional material (which is nevertheless still being distributed and used)

- ◆ In only 3 cases Nestlé admits the violation – but claims to have changed.

What really gets my goat is Nestlé's consistent promotion of itself as a caring, nurturing organization concerned about child health. The Annual Report for 1993, for example, is full of such smugness, talking about the company symbol of the mother bird feeding its babies in the nest. This 'personifies the business' , it says. 'The symbol, which is universally understood, simultaneously evokes security, maternity and affection, nature and nourishment, family and tradition. Today it is the central element in Nestlé's corporate identity.'

Contrast this with Maucher's words from 1987: 'We might say, somewhat provocatively, that in terms of its results for the human race, this economic system is ethical in and of itself and that businessmen (sic) who give and do their best in conformity with the system are by that very fact also acting morally and ethically from an objective point of view.' While in November 1995, Nestlé spokesperson Thad Jackson told a US conference on business ethics in a global economy of 'the necessity of looking at ethical issues outside of Western philosophy'. Another speaker at the Nestlé-sponsored conference was even more explicit: 'In many (if not all) emerging markets it is simply impossible to make money without overt violation of normal Western ethical principles.' Nature and nourishment indeed...

▶ **Lobbying to keep national legislation on breastmilk substitutes weak.** Although over 70 governments have now taken action to stop free or low-cost supplies to healthcare facilities, only 11 or so countries have laws which cover the whole range of activities covered by the Code. In the 1980s Nestlé and other babyfood companies opposed strong national legislation, advocating 'voluntary agreements'. Yet Nestlé now excuses its own actions by saying governments have not legislated against them – and in countries such as Pakistan, Ghana and the Philippines it has lobbied governments to weaken legislation. In Chile, for example, Nestlé continues to give out free supplies in contravention of the International Code, excusing the practice by saying there is no local law against doing so.

In reality what Nestlé is about, like any other multinational, is maximizing its own profits. To that end it is keener than it has ever been to exploit the growing markets in the Majority World, especially in Asia. That's why they won't let infant feeding go and concentrate on chocolate instead. Maucher showed where he's really at when talking to shareholders in Lausanne in June 1995. 'The figures are clear: Asia will, within a few years, contribute about 50 per cent to [Nestlé's] global gross product growth while Europe's contribution follow the laws and they are following the laws especially in developing countries where the laws are elected. But now our law demands that there should be a prominent notice on the tin of babyfoods which should say 'mother's milk is best for your baby', not only in English but also in Hindi in the script. But look here... they say 'breast milk is best' and it is in English, nothing in Hindi. So this is a definite violation of our Act.

Studies have shown that in developing countries like India a baby who is not breastfed is 14 times more likely to die from diarrhoea, 4 times more likely to die from pneumonia and 2.5 times more likely to die from other infectious diseases. A bottle is a passport to death for the majority of our babies.

(From Yorkshire TV's 3D, 1995)

Susan Cruz, a health worker from Baguio City, the Philippines

When I left the hospital, every service and product was itemized on the bill. I was charged for each cotton bud they used to clean my baby Chisan's eyes and for the single teaspoon of sugar put in the water they gave her. But the Nestlé milk they gave Chisan – against my wishes – was absolutely free.

(Susan Cruz's testimony from 1988 was one reason why the Nestlé boycott was relaunched. The pressure of the new international campaign has led Nestlé and other companies to reduce free supplies. But promotion through free gifts continues by other means, as the next testimony shows.)

Ines Av Fernandez, Arugaan Women's Health Campaign, Quezon City, the Philippines

We are furious with Nestlé's latest aggression having received reports from government doctors and non-governmental organizations in the provinces of Pampanga, Lucena, Quezon, Tacloban and Davao representing the three big islands of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The alarming reports showed that Nestlé gave incentives of gifts and cash to community-based health volunteers called Barangay Health Workers (BHW) who help implement primary healthcare programs. Each trained BHW covers about 20 neighbours in their community and Nestlé offers them gifts of umbrella, medical bag, T-shirts whenever they sell a discounted Nestogen infant formula to their neighbors. The more Nestogen they sell, the bigger the incentives. Example: if a box full was sold, cash pesos will be paid. All these marketing tricks destroy the spirit of voluntarism!

In fact it corrupts the value of the grassroots concern to alleviate poverty and generate self-reliance and put health in the hands of the people. I'm at a loss for harsh enough words to describe our reactions to this...

(Letter to the International Babyfood Action Network)

Leah Margulies, former legal adviser at UNICEF

The fact that Nestlé says that only three of the charges [made against it by the International Babyfood Action Network] were accurate doesn't make it so.

For example, the IBFAN report included violations that I found in a hospital in Bangkok which I monitored while I was legal adviser to the UNICEF Baby Friendly Hospital Initiative. Nestlé's response was that these free supplies were donated for the purposes of a scientific study and of course Nestlé didn't consider this among its three violations.

The reality is that I went to the ward, interviewed nurses, and was told of the regular donations of Nestlé infant formula. When I asked for proof, I was given copies of invoices marked 'complimentary'. The invoice didn't indicate that the donations were for a study, and neither did the nurses – they just told me about the regular visits and showed me where the donations were kept – in the wards, alongside of the donations given by other companies.

(Letter to an organizer of the 1995 Nestlé-sponsored conference on business ethics) ■

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will not be higher than about 11 per cent. We are already firmly anchored in Asia and today – through geographic extension and through the diversification of our product range – we are broadening the base of our global presence. This allows us to benefit from population growth and from the increase in purchasing power...'

▶ ANTICIPATED DEFENCE

'In spite of the fact that infant-formula sales in developing countries represent only one per cent of Nestlé's global turnover, the Company firmly believes it would be wrong to abandon these products as a result of what it considers to be misguided attacks. Infant formula is an absolute necessity, since it is the best possible alternative for mothers who cannot, or decide not to, breastfeed their babies. It is therefore the Company's responsibility to continue marketing infant formula.'

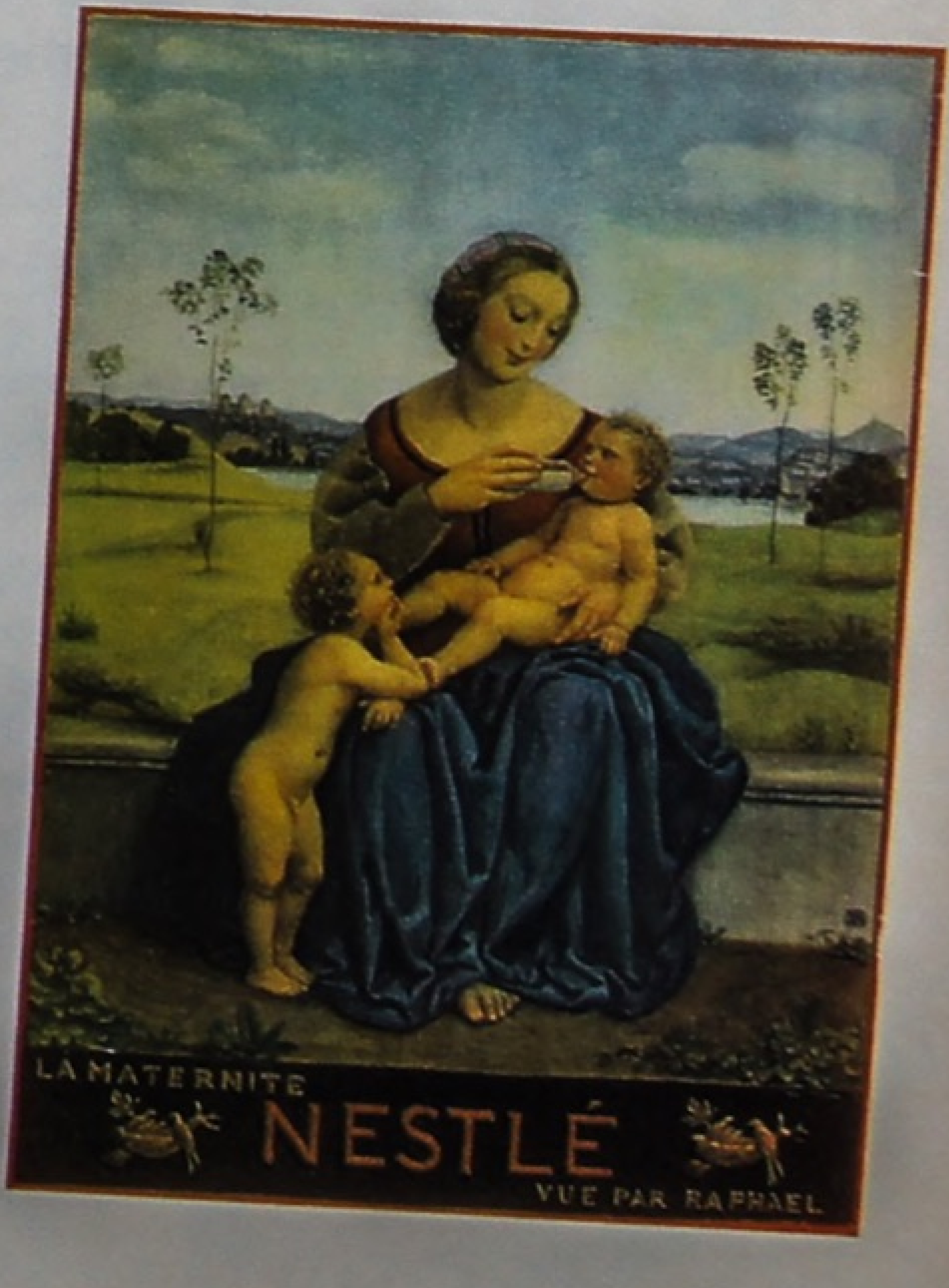
Helmut Maucher, April 1992

I think on some level Maucher really does believe this. He thinks people are criticizing Nestlé just for the sake of it now. In fact the International Code does not call for Nestlé to abandon babymilk – only for them to stop promoting it. In court Maucher will be a model of reasonableness, representing his critics as extremists with a vested interest in keeping a dead issue alive. And he will be very convincing. Be sure to keep your cool when you cross-examine him or you'll have lost the battle before it's even begun.

▶ REQUESTED SENTENCE

Five years' imprisonment, suspended for five years. Any breach of the International Code in that period would activate the sentence.

As usual, we might privately prefer a more creative sentence. I'd go for five years in a slum district of Manila trying to keep his grandchildren alive by feeding them Nestlé milk powder diluted with local water – if it wasn't for the implications of that for the grandchildren.



A Nestlé ad from 1935. The caption translates as 'Nestlé motherhood as seen by Raphael'.

Swimming against the tide

It is easy to be overcome by gloom when contemplating the worst that human beings are capable of. So we should contemplate the best, too. **The Right Livelihood Award**, often called the Alternative Nobel Prize, is dedicated to recognizing some of the people working selflessly to change the world for the better. Here are the winners for 1995.

SERB CIVIC COUNCIL
(Bosnia)

Created in March 1994 by Serbs loyal to the multi-ethnic democratic government in Sarajevo, the Serb Civic Council now has about 50,000 members – a third of all Serbs living in areas still controlled by the Bosnian Government. Its own vision of peace is based on the preservation of a democratic and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina in which all citizens' rights and freedoms are guaranteed in accord with the highest international standards. Members have been targeted for assassination by snipers, not least because of their links with resistance leaders operating within the region controlled by Radovan Karadzic's Pale regime. The Serb Civic Council's president is Mirko Pejanovic.

British historian Adrian Hastings calls their work 'an outstanding contribution to the cause of humanity, a contribution fully comparable with that of those Germans who 50 years ago participated in the resistance to Nazism. It is, nevertheless, a contribution which the international community has deliberately ignored, anxious as it is to explain the conflict – quite mistakenly – as a 'civil war' between Muslims and Serbs, when it is in fact a war between a democratic and legitimate government, backed by an overwhelming majority of its population, and a fascist and terrorist movement.'

HUNGARIAN FOUNDATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE/ ANDRAS BIRO
(Hungary)

András Biró founded the Hungarian Foundation for Self-Reliance in 1990 to reinforce democratization by supporting initiatives on the environment and on minority rights (particularly those of the Roma or gypsy community), and by promoting civil society and grassroots democracy. The Foundation acts as a channel for voluntary aid from overseas, giving grants to grassroots organizations. But it is also leading an initiative to address the problems of the Roma in Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia as well as Hungary, concentrating on income-generating schemes – the Roma have been particularly badly hit by the ballooning unemployment which has followed the switch to the free market. The Foundation also awards a 'Tolerance Prize' each year for the best contribution to Hungarian ethnic harmony by a journalist or broadcaster.

SULAK SIVARAKSA
(Thailand)

Sulak Sivaraksa has spent a lifetime working for human rights and democracy – and for an alternative development model to that of Western consumerism. He has played a leading role in the mobilization of civil society in Thailand, creating a string of social-welfare and development organizations, including a commission which trains Buddhist monks for development activism, and the Santi Pracha Dhamma Institute which promotes 'democratic ideals and practice through non-violent means'. Sivaraksa's consistent rejection of the Western development model in favour of a holistic, spiritually based alternative – one which is responsive to local cultures – has been of great influence worldwide. He has repeatedly incurred the wrath of the Thai Government, particularly in its military incarnations, and was forced into exile in 1991-92. He is currently working on two new initiatives: an international 'Alternatives to Consumerism' network and a new college in Thailand which will explore an alternative, more holistic approach to education.

CARMEL BUDIARDJO
(Indonesia/Britain)

Carmel Budiardjo suffered three years' detention without trial before being forced to leave Indonesia in 1971. In 1973 she founded TAPOL, the Indonesia human-rights campaign and has run it ever since from its base in London, England. TAPOL has become the leading English-language source on Indonesian human-rights abuses (the word 'tapol' is a contraction of two Indonesian words meaning 'political prisoner'). Carmel was a major contributor to the **NI** issue on East Timor (March 1994).

According to the International Federation for East Timor, based in Japan: 'If today the tide of international opinion is turning with regard to the Suharto regime; if some of Indonesia's trade partners and economic aid donor countries are beginning to factor in democratization and human-rights protection in their relations with Jakarta; if Western arms sales to Indonesia are at last being seen in light of their true destructiveness: in no small measure this is due to the accumulated efforts for two decades of Carmel Budiardjo and TAPOL... A committed human-rights worker can make a difference. Carmel Budiardjo is proof of that.'

Name:
Daniel arap Moi

POSITION:
President of Kenya

HISTORY:
Born in 1924 at Sacho, Baringo District, Moi was a teacher between 1945 and 1957. He held ministerial posts in the interim administration once the British had decided to withdraw from Kenya and then was Minister of Home Affairs from independence in 1964 right through until 1978 when, as Vice-President and candidate of the only political party allowed, KANU, he succeeded Jomo Kenyatta as President. Initially seen as a technocrat, he has become increasingly dictatorial. The longer he has been in power, the more intolerant of dissent he has become.

NICK ROGERS/CAMERA PRESS

PROSECUTOR'S NOTES TO THE TEAM:

I came across this story recently which will help you get a handle on Daniel arap Moi. International aid donors, including the World Bank, were astonished to hear news of a proposed $84 million project to construct a third international airport in Eldoret. The project makes no economic sense, they say. True, but it is to be built in Moi's home province. It would be located near Moi University and would relieve pressure on Moi Airport in Mombasa. And to think the press have been accusing me of delusions of grandeur...

For years Kenya was the West's favourite protegé in Africa because of its hostility to socialism. But now that many other African countries have switched to the free market and have adopted multi-party democracy Moi's consistently appalling human-rights record has been exposed. The story of Moi's last four years in power show just how important international pressure can be. In 1991 donors suspended aid to Kenya on economic and human-rights grounds. Within a month political detainees had been released and a multi-party system had been legalized. Aid soon restarted but remained conditional on human-rights improvements. Then in December 1994 aid was renewed without any expression of concern over human rights. Within a month the Government had recommenced attacks on opposition forces.

Moi often seems crude but he is smart enough to know when to back off – he clamps down on opposition just as hard as he is allowed to. All the more reason to give him some grief.

▶ **Persecution of ethnic groups associated with the political opposition.** Since 1991 the Government has been responsible for unleashing terror and expelling certain ethnic groups from the Rift Valley Province. Around 300,000 people have been internally displaced and cannot resettle on their land because of the threat of violence. Around 1,500 people have died in 'tribal clashes', most of them belonging to ethnic groups associated with the opposition.

It's hard to understand the background to all these human-rights abuses without understanding the ethnic complexity of Kenyan society. Moi himself is a Kalenjin, a formerly pastoralist group that forms only 11 per cent of the population but which dominates the government. The political opposition emerges from the Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya, who together make up 47 per cent of the population and it is these groups which have suffered most from the attacks and evictions. MPs close to Moi have repeatedly called for 'majimboism', under which all ethnic groups who were not in the Rift Valley before colonialism would be expelled – ethnic cleansing by another name.

▶ **Presiding over widespread government corruption.** In November 1994 President Moi accepted at an investors' meeting in London that government corruption had deterred new aid and investment in Kenya – this was one of the factors which led to the suspension of overseas aid in 1991.

Stories abound of corruption at the highest levels. In 1993, for example, the European Union withdrew from funding the proposed Turkwell Gorge hydroelectric plant because the contract negotiated by the Kenyan Government involved so many kickbacks. People are not so much feathering their nests as furnishing their palaces.

▶ **Silencing independent organizations and the media.** In February 1995 two independent organizations were banned:

Clarion, a research group which had just published a study detailing widespread government corruption; and the Mwaganza Trust, which has campaigned for constitutional and legal reform. A critical Catholic magazine, *Inooro*, was also banned.

And these are only the formal bannings. The offices of the Legal Advice Centre, which works to curb government abuses, were attacked six times in early 1995 by unknown assailants armed with guns and petrol bombs. The outspoken magazine Finance had its office doused with petrol and set on fire in February. And in April government officials stormed the premises of the printer of numerous independent magazines and promptly dismantled its printing machines. You could safely say Moi's idea of 'democratic space' differs from other people's.

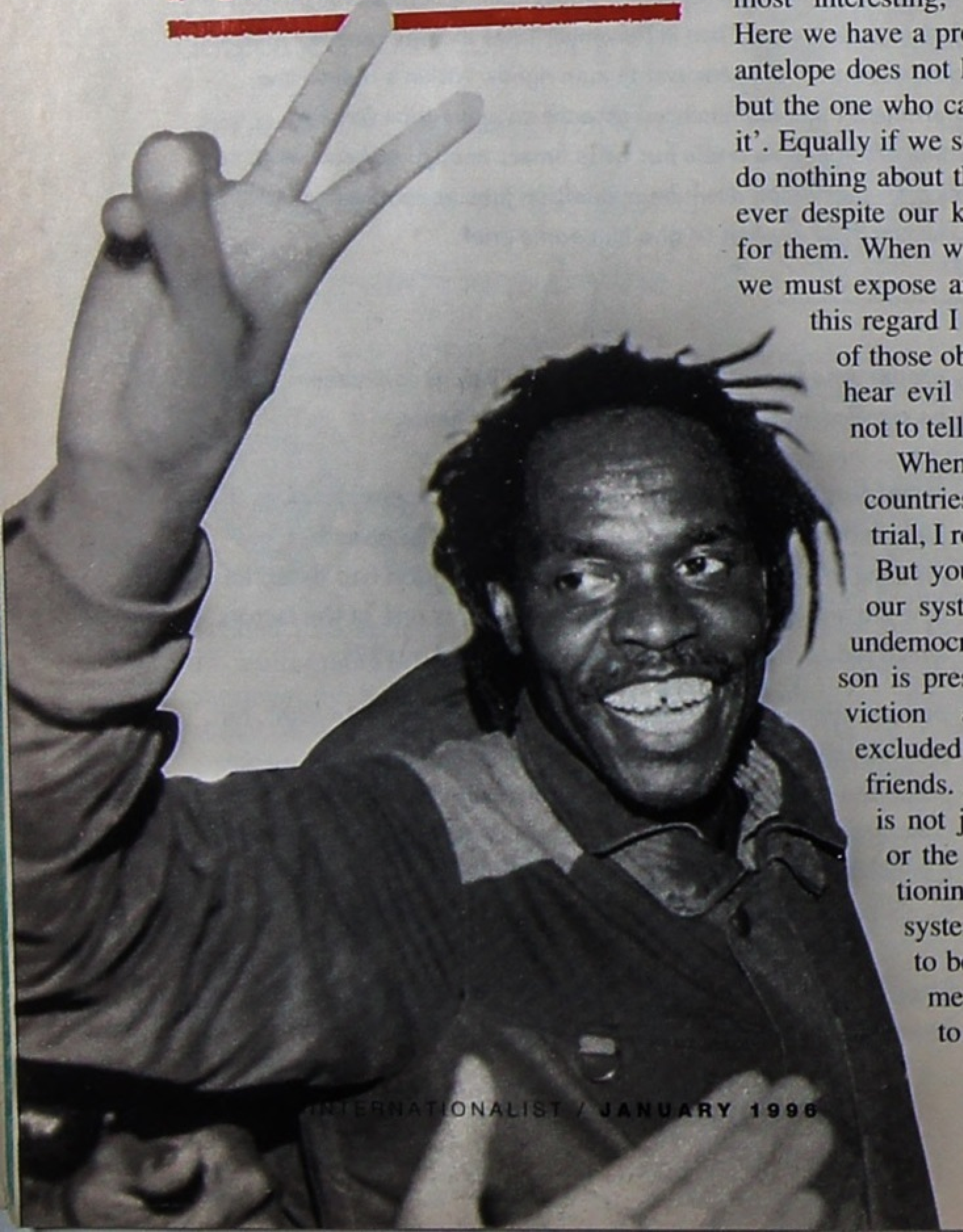
- **Harassment and persecution of opposition politicians.** This has been a hallmark of Moi's presidency throughout but has been particularly bad in the last year. In February Moi ordered that anyone who insulted him be arrested. In June he blocked registration of a new political party, Safina, and denounced one of its leaders, white conservationist Richard Leakey, as a racist colonialist; shortly after, 100 armed vigilantes stormed Leakey's home demanding the departure of 'the colonialist'.

Moi behaves like a spoiled child half the time – he has spent so long as head of a one-party state that he can't cope with the existence of opposition parties which he was only forced to legalize by international pressure. He probably did win the first multi-party election in 1992, mainly because he had been so successful in splintering and undermining the opposition. But the election was still highly dubious, full of examples of intimidation and government supporters being bussed in to vote.

Moi's paranoia can be fantastic, as when, in May, he accused the opposition of seeking money from the Ku Klux Klan. Our lead witness Koigi wa Wamwere, who is a Kikuyu, is plainly in jail on a trumped-up charge – and the Government is spinning out the legal proceedings as long as it can so as to keep him inside until after the next election.

WITNESSES for the PROSECUTION

Koigi wa Wamwere (left), who is on trial facing the death penalty, smuggled this letter out of prison to David Sullivan, an American observer in court.



Dear David

Thanks for coming to observe this our most interesting, albeit dangerous, trial. Here we have a proverb that says 'a hiding antelope does not hate the one who sees it but the one who calls people to go and kill it'. Equally if we see evil and injustices but do nothing about them, they could last forever despite our knowledge of and hatred for them. When we see evil and injustices, we must expose and fight to end them. In this regard I am sure you are not one of those observers who will see and hear evil in this court but choose not to tell the world about it.

When I see people from other countries come to observe this trial, I really want to talk to them. But you have seen for yourself: our system is so oppressive and undemocratic that an accused person is presumed guilty before conviction and must be totally excluded from society, family and friends. And the problem is that it is not just the police, the courts or the prisons that are misfunctioning badly. It is the entire system that is rotten from top to bottom. As regards government's refusal to let us talk to observers, it is the trial magistrate who is most keen to prevent us: he is afraid that we might criticize his extreme bias against us.

No matter. What I wished to tell you is this: we are 100 percent innocent of the charges for which we are being tried in this court. This trial has been most unfair and we expect no justice at the end of it. The real problem in this trial is President Moi. He is afraid that I might contest the presidency in 1997, so I must be destroyed now. Moi also wants to use this trial and the judiciary in general to effect his diabolical policy of ethnic cleansing against Kikuyu people who live in the Rift Valley. In destroying us, Moi's chosen instrument is Mr William Tuiyot, the trial magistrate in this court. Knowing this, we have more than five times asked Mr Tuiyot to disqualify himself but he has refused to do so. And to be able to convict us, Mr Tuiyot has been heard to say that he will ignore all defence evidence – including our alibis, which the investigating officer refused to investigate.

More important, this trial is also meant for the consumption of Western donors. If Moi could, he would have detained us without charge or trial. But Western donors disapprove of detention without trial. Can Western donors now let Moi crucify his political opponents as mere 'criminals' and 'robbers?' This is what Moi wants to find out from this trial – unfair as it is, Moi will in future use the abuse of law and criminal justice to dispose of his other political opponents, in the same way as he would have done with detention without trial, and Western donors will continue to finance his dictatorship! When you go back, tell American taxpayers that it is not fair for their money to be used in the maintenance of this dictatorship.

Your coming here is proof that the world is now one and by threatening to do an injustice to us, Moi has also threatened to do an injustice to the entire humanity. Nevertheless, Moi takes refuge in the callousness of another African proverb which says that 'eyes of frogs do not stop cows from drinking water'. As cows have great contempt for pleading but powerless frogs so has Moi for pleading but powerless humanity. For Moi to end his dictatorship, the world must do more than just plead with him. Western donors must impose diplomatic and economic sanctions. Only that can earn innocent people freedom and end the long-lasting suffering of Kenyans.

If ever we don't manage to talk, go well and convey our best regards to the American people. And please remember to come back in better times.

One day, we shall also overcome.

Koigi

Koigi wa Wamwere is an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience. He has been on trial since April 1994 on a charge of armed robbery that faces the death penalty.

Democracy Kenya-style. Big crowds marked the opening of the first multi-party parliament in 1993 – in a fit of pique, Moi shut it down (temporarily) the next day.

The Catholic Bishops of Nairobi, in a pastoral letter issued in April 1995

We find no consolation in the praise for Kenya from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund...

The treatment of non-KANU [Moi's party] political activities violates the basic rules of democracy and of constitutional and human rights...

Too many of our people are living in fear; it would seem there is no law, no justice, no protection, except for the powerful. ■

ACTION

Pursue your own prosecution case by joining forces with an action group in your own country working on the issues raised by this magazine.

DICTATORSHIP/ HUMAN RIGHTS

The two international organizations best able to monitor abuses by the world's dictatorships are Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

Amnesty International

International: 1 Easton St, London WC1X 8DJ, England. Tel: (44171) 833 1771.

Aotearoa/New Zealand: PO Box 793, Wellington, Tel: (04) 499 3349. Fax: (04) 499 3505.

Australia: PO Box 1611, Broadway, NSW 2007. Tel: (02) 281 4188.

Britain: 99-119 Rosebery Ave, London EC1R 4RE. Tel: (0171) 814 6200. Fax: (0171) 933 1510.

Canada: 214 Montreal Rd, Suite 401, Vanier, Ont K1L 1A4. Tel: (613) 744 7667.

United States: 322 8th Ave, New York, NY 10001. Tel: (212) 807 8400.

Human Rights Watch

Britain: Human Rights Watch/Africa, 33 Islington High St, London N1 9LH. Tel: (0171) 713 1995. Fax: (0171) 713 1800.

Canada/US: 485 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10017. Tel: (212) 972 8400. Fax: (212) 972 0905.

MOI/KENYA

Contact the organizations under Dictatorships/ Human Rights but also the following:

Britain

Article 19, 33 Islington High St, London N1 9LH. Tel: (0171) 278 9292. Fax: (0171) 713 1356.

Canada

International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, 63 Rue de Bresoles, Montreal, Québec, H2Y 1V7. Tel: (514) 283 6073.

CHIRAC/NUCLEAR TESTING

A spontaneous boycott of French products is taking place all around the world in protest at the nuclear tests in the Pacific – the main target being French wine.

International

Greenpeace International, Keizersgracht 176, 1016 DW Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Tel: (0031) 20 523 6222. Fax: (0031) 20 523 6200.

Aotearoa/New Zealand

Greenpeace, Private Bag 92507 Wellesley Street, Auckland. Tel: (09) 377 6128. Fax: (09) 303 2676.

Corso Pacific Programmes, PO Box 3662-803 Christchurch. Tel: (03) 3662 803.

Australia

Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition, PO Box A899 Sydney South, NSW 2000. Tel: (02) 267 2772.

Britain

Greenpeace, Canonbury Villas, London N1 2PN. Tel: (0171) 354 5100. Fax: (0171) 696 0012/0014.

Canada

Greenpeace, 185 Spadina Ave, Toronto, Ont, M5T 2C6. Tel: (416) 597 8408.

South Pacific People's Foundation, 620 View St, Suite 405, Victoria, BC, V8W 1J6. Tel: (604) 381 4131. Fax: (604) 388 5258.

United States

Greenpeace, 1436 U St NW, Washington, DC, 20009. Tel: (202) 462 1177.

THE POPE/CONTRACEPTION

Australia

Office for the Status of Women, 3-5 National Circuit, Barton, ACT, 2600. Tel: (062) 715 111.

Britain

Catholics for a Changing Church, 14 West Halkin St, London SW1X 8JS. Tel: (0171) 235 2841. Fax: (0171) 823 2110.

Canada

Coalition of Concerned Canadian Catholics, Box 6711, Station A, Toronto, Ont, M5W 1X5. Tel: (416) 977 8135. Fax: (416) 977 6604.

United States

Catholics for a Free Choice, 1436 U Street NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC, 20009-3997. Tel: (202) 986 6093. Fax: (202) 332 7995.

ÇILLER/TURKEY/THE KURDS

Contact the organizations under Dictatorships/Human Rights but also:

Australia

Kurdistan Information Centre of Australia, PO Box 4772, GPO Melbourne, Vic 3001. Tel: (039) 663 5344. Fax: (039) 663 5141.

Britain

Kurdistan Information Centre, 10 Glasshouse Yard, London EC1A 4JN. Tel: (0171) 250 1315. Fax: (0171) 250 1317.

Canada

The Kurdistan Committee, 2487 Kaladar Ave, Suite 203, Ottawa, Ont, K1V 8B9. Tel: (613) 361 0761.

United States

Kurdish Information Network, 3209 Calvert St NW, Washington, DC, 20008-2603. Tel: (202) 483 6444.

BOYCOTT NESTLÉ!

The campaign led by the International Nestlé Boycott Committee primarily targets Nescafé, the corporation's flagship product. But the NI is encouraging you to boycott all Nestlé products until the company stops promoting its babymilk. Here are the main contact points for the infant feeding campaign – together with a country-by-country guide to Nestlé in all its various brand-name disguises.

INTERNATIONAL

International Babyfood Action Network (IBFAN).
Europe: c/o GIFA, BP 157, 1211 Genève 19, Switzerland. Tel: (4122) 798 9164. Fax: (4122) 798 4443. Also as under Britain.
North America: see under Canada/US.
Latin America: Amaranta N90, Stantacha, Erb Prado del Esté, Caracas 1080, Venezuela. Tel/Fax: (582) 977 0476.
Asia & Pacific: PO Box 19, 10700 Penang, Malaysia. Tel: (604) 656 9799. Fax: (604) 657 2655.
Africa: PO Box 781, Mbabane, Swaziland. Tel: (268) 45006. Fax: (268) 44246.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

There has been no action group on this issue for the past five years. Anyone interested in reactivating a group should contact Tul Bevan, NZ Lactation Consultants Association, PO Box 29279, Christchurch. Tel: (03) 473 8677.

Beverages: Nescafé, including Cappuccino, Classic, Expresso and Fine Blend; International Roast; Andronicus; Caro; Carnation; Milo; Nesquik; Vittel and Perrier mineral waters; Nestea.

Confectionery: Kit Kat; Smarties; Rolo; Quality Street; Life Savers; Milky Bar; Milo Bar; Scorched Almonds; After Eight; Allen's confectionery, including Oddfellows, Mackintosh's Toffees, Kool mints, Raspberry Twists, Soothers and Vita C; Allen's/Heards confectionery including Barley Sugars; Black Knight; Granny's licorice; Pixie Caramel; Chokito; Chocolate Raisins/ Peanuts; Nut Roll; Crunch; Regina confectionery, including Marshmellows, Party Mix, Pineapple Chunks, Strawberry Hearts and Choc Orange Slices; Nutoata bars; Canterbury Oaty bars.

Cooking products: Nestlé baking cocoa, Nestlé cooking chocolate, Chocolate Melts, Choc Bits, Milk Melts, Highlander condensed milk, Reduced Cream, Quick Custard Mix.

Processed food: Maggi; Findus frozen food, including Lean Cuisine; Buitoni pasta and sauces; Nanda pasta; Crosse & Blackwell relishes/pickles.

Pet food: Friskies, Go Cat, Cat Meow, Fancy Feast, Tux, Trusty.

Dairy products: Yoplait

Supermarket own-name brands: *According to our survey Nestlé only makes two such products for supermarket chains in Aotearoa:* No Frills Muesli bars and Pams Condensed Milk.

AUSTRALIA

Baby Food Action Group, Community Aid Abroad, 156 George St, Fitzroy, Vic 3065. Tel: (03) 419 7111.

Beverages: Nescafé, including Gold Blend, Decaff; Milo; Caro; Slender.

Dairy products: Carnation, Coffeemate, Ideal, Tip-Top.

Confectionery: Kit Kat, Rowntree, Aero, After Eight, Smarties, Baci, Black Magic, Fruit Pastilles, Milky Bar, Quality Street, Rolo.

Mineral water: Perrier, Vittel.

Processed food: Findus, Maggi, Lean Cuisine, Branston Pickle.

Cereals: Shredded Wheat.

Pet food: Go-Cat, Go-Dog.

Cosmetics: L'Oreal, Lancome.

BRITAIN

Baby Milk Action, 23 St Andrews St, Cambridge CB2 3AX. Tel: (01223) 464420. Fax: (01223) 464417. E-mail: babymilkacti@gn.apc.org

Beverages: Nescafé, including Gold Blend, Blend 37, Alta Rica, Cap Colombie, Cappuccino, Decaff, Fine Blend; Milo; Build-up; Caro; Elevenses; Flo-Mix; Libby's C Drinks; Mix-O-Choc, Moonshine; Nescoré; Nesfit; Nesquik; Slender; Superquik; Um Bongo.

Confectionery: Kit Kat, Rowntree, Aero, After Eight, Polo, Smarties, Lion Bar, Quality Street, Rolo, Toffee Crisp, Toffo, Walnut Whip, Weekend, Yorkie, Matchmakers, Milky Bar, Munchies, Black Magic, Fox's Glacier Mints, Fruit Pastilles, Animal bar, Baci, Blue Riband, Breakaway, Cabana, Caramac, Caramel Wafer, Cello, Creamola, Dairy Crunch, Drifter, Eclipse, Good News, Festival, Gray& Dunn biscuits, Jellytots, Karima, Montego, Novo, RPC, Savana, Secret, Tooty Frooties.

Ice cream: Lyons Maid.

Cereals: Shredded Wheat, Shreddies, Cheerios, Cinnamon Toast Crunch, Cocoa Puffs, Crisp Rice, Energen, Force, Golden Grahams, Lucky Charms, Team, Robertson's cornflakes, Sunny Jim, Wheatflakes.

Dairy products: Carnation, Chambourcy, Coffeemate, Fussells, Ideal, Milkmaid, Tip-Top, Bonjour, Chamby, Creme Vienna, Darlky, Flanby, Fulcreem custard, Hippopota, Jacky, Kremly, Le Grande, Nouvelle, Robot.

Mineral water: Perrier, Ashbourne, Contrexéville, Vittel, Vitteloise.

Processed food: Findus, Buitoni pasta & canned foods, Crosse & Blackwell, Maggi, Alphabetti, Bonne Cuisine, Dish of the Day, Eskimo, Four Seasons, Healthy Balance, Lean Cuisine, Pasta choice, Rice & Things, Scrunchies, Waistline.

Spreads/pickles: Branston, Gales honey, Holgates honey, Pan-Yan, Sun-pat, Tartex, Vessen paté.

Seasonings: British Shoyu, British vinegars, Cook-in-the-Pot, Dufrais, Sarsons.

Cosmetics and eye care: L'Oreal, Lancome, Claudel, Alcon.

Pet foods: Friskies, Go-Cat, Go-Dog.

Supermarket own-name brands: *Most supermarket chains refuse to reveal the sources of their own-name products but both Tesco and the Co-op deserve credit for having come clean with us to allow consumers an informed choice. Nestlé makes Tesco's Corn Flakes, Sultana Bran, Bran Flakes, Cocoa Puffs, Puffed Rice and Cocoa Flakes and the Co-op's Peanut Butter, Rich Chocolate Mousse and Easy Serve Ice Cream. Nestlé makes nothing for Budgen. But Sainsbury and Safeway refused to tell us and should not be rewarded for this: all their own-brand cereals, dairy products and ice cream should be treated with suspicion.*

CANADA/UNITED STATES

IN-FACT Coalition, 10 Trinity Square, Toronto, Ont, M5G 1B1. Tel: (416) 595 9819. Fax: (416) 591 9355. Web site: www.io.org/@infacto

Beverages: Nescafé, Nestea, Chase & Sandborn, Hills Brothers, Coffeemate, Movenpick, MJB, Taster's Choice, Encore, Club, Carnation, Libby's juices, Calistoga, Goodhost.

Confectionery: Laura Secord, Chunky Goobers, Coffee Crisp, Aero, Baci, Quality Street, Nestlé Beich fundraising chocolate, Kit Kat, Smarties, After Eight, Baby Ruth, Bit O Honey, Butterfinger, Alpine White Chocolate, Crunch, Raisinats, Black Magic, Turtles, Mirage.

Ice cream: Laura Secord, Crunch, Drumstick, Mr Big, Haagen Dazs ice-cream bars.

Mineral water: Perrier, Vittel, Poland Spring.

Processed food: Stouffers, Lean Cuisine, Buitoni, Contadina, Crosse & Blackwell, Maggi, MJB.

Cosmetics/eye care: L'Oreal, Warner, Alcon.

Wines: Beringer, Chateau Souverain, Los Hermanos, Nappa Ridge.

Nestlé has marketing agreements in North America with Nabisco, Walt Disney, Movenpick, Ault Foods (Sealtest Dairies) and Coca Cola (Nestea).

NESCAFÉ
PRESIDENT
Nestle
KitKat
L'OREAL
STUDIO
NOUVEAU
Buitoni
PIZZA AL FORNO
LA GRANDIOSA
Quattre Fromages
Perrier

The NI Interview

Sugatha Kumari

Rukmini Sekhar chats with an effervescent Indian activist who manages to combine a literary life with a fierce passion for social justice.

INDIAN feminist Sugatha Kumari is a rare mixture – a widely-respected poet and a gutsy social activist. A self-described 'troublemaker' in her home state of Kerala she has been both an environmentalist and a campaigner for women's rights. 'I'm very proud to be a woman,' she says. 'But it is not easy in a male world. Men don't mind accepting me as a poet, but when I stick my neck into hot water that's when things can get unpleasant. My life has been threatened many times but I have nothing to hide and nothing to fear.'

It was the savaging of nature in a fast-modernizing India that led her to combine her poetry and her activism. The Western Ghats, the spectacular tree-covered mountain range that divides Kerala from Tamil Nadu were under attack from logging concessions and Ms Kumari decided to use her talents as a poet to save one region of particular beauty called Silent Valley. 'I wanted to draw attention to the plight of nature versus development,' she recalls. So she cajoled and browbeat a collection of Kerala's writers into an effective pressure group both to protest the devastation and to inform people about the destruction. 'We set up special *prakriti mushairas* or nature poetry gatherings and invited the public. We were able to touch many hearts with our songs and poems.'

Ms Kumari scoffs at the fatalism which many Indians accept as part of Hindu teachings. People feel there is little they can do to alter fate and that change is impossible -- though in fact this reaction is not much different in India than in the rest of the world.

> ***'The searchlight of society is now on these places and they will never be dark again.'***

She bristles at the suggestion. 'You can't sit idle and say it is all *karma*. We are masters of our *karma;* the *Gita* [a sacred Hindu text] says we have to do our duty. We have to fight, to be active, to work hard. If we can wipe the tears of even one woman, it must change her *karma* as well as ours.' Experience has taught her that it is better to wade into the fray, to take a chance, than not to act at all. She is convinced that the stakes are too high for apathy. 'If we remain indifferent,' she says, 'we will be swallowed.'

Ms Kumari was inspired by her father's poetry as well as his strong beliefs: 'He was a freedom fighter filled with the all too rare ideals of patriotism and sacrifice.' His example influenced her deeply and led her eventually to the conviction that the writer has an important obligation as a social conscience. Although she admits, 'most creative writers are introverts and merely want to write peacefully,' Ms Kumari knows from her own campaigns that good story-telling can be a powerful tool for social change. When she was battling on behalf of Silent Valley she found that 'people were much more inspired when writing touched their hearts than by scientific or technical information.' She has little hesitation in claiming that 'a poet can communicate much better than a scientist.'

Although she is best known as a poet-environmentalist, Ms Kumari is also the founder of *Abhaya (*refuge) -- an organization which gives shelter and hope to female mental patients. Her work to launch *Abhaya* was prompted by an off-chance visit to the government-run Mental Hospital in the capital, Trivandrum. There women were housed in 19th century conditions, sexually abused and regularly prostituted to men in the neighbouring police camp. When she visited the hospital she saw 'women's bodies covered with sores and stark naked. They were emaciated and their hair was matted. They didn't even look like human beings.' The horror of this experience was embedded in her mind and she decided on the spot to do something about it, despite vehement opposition from the psychiatric community.

'They were dead against us; they told us *they* were the professionals and that it was none of *our* business. We said mentally ill women are human beings too. They must be allowed to live with dignity and their basic needs fulfilled.'

While hospital authorities denounced her in the press, Ms Kumari organized a group of activists, politicians and intellectuals, who managed to create enough publicity and chaos to eventually instigate a legal inquiry into the matter.

'We initiated protest marches and rallies all over the state,' she recalls. 'Finally the High Court set up a commission. Meanwhile, we decided to do some constructive work. We collected thousands of old clothes, food and other things and began to distribute them to the women in the hospital.' Out of this concrete work grew *Abhaya.*

Since then Ms Kumari has also set up a home for destitute mentally ill women with as well as a de-tox and counselling centre for drug users and alcoholics. The good news is that conditions in Kerala's psychiatric hospitals conditions are rapidly changing.

'After 150 years the closed doors of these hospitals were thrown wide open. The searchlight of society is now on these places and they will never be dark again.'

Though she has had great success and satisfaction in changing the real world, Ms Kumari finds equal nourishment in the process of creation and the world of the imagination. It's sometimes hard to explain she says, 'but poetry is part of my being, like breathing. I can't live without it.' ■

Reprinted and adapted with permission from *The Eye*, New Delhi, India.

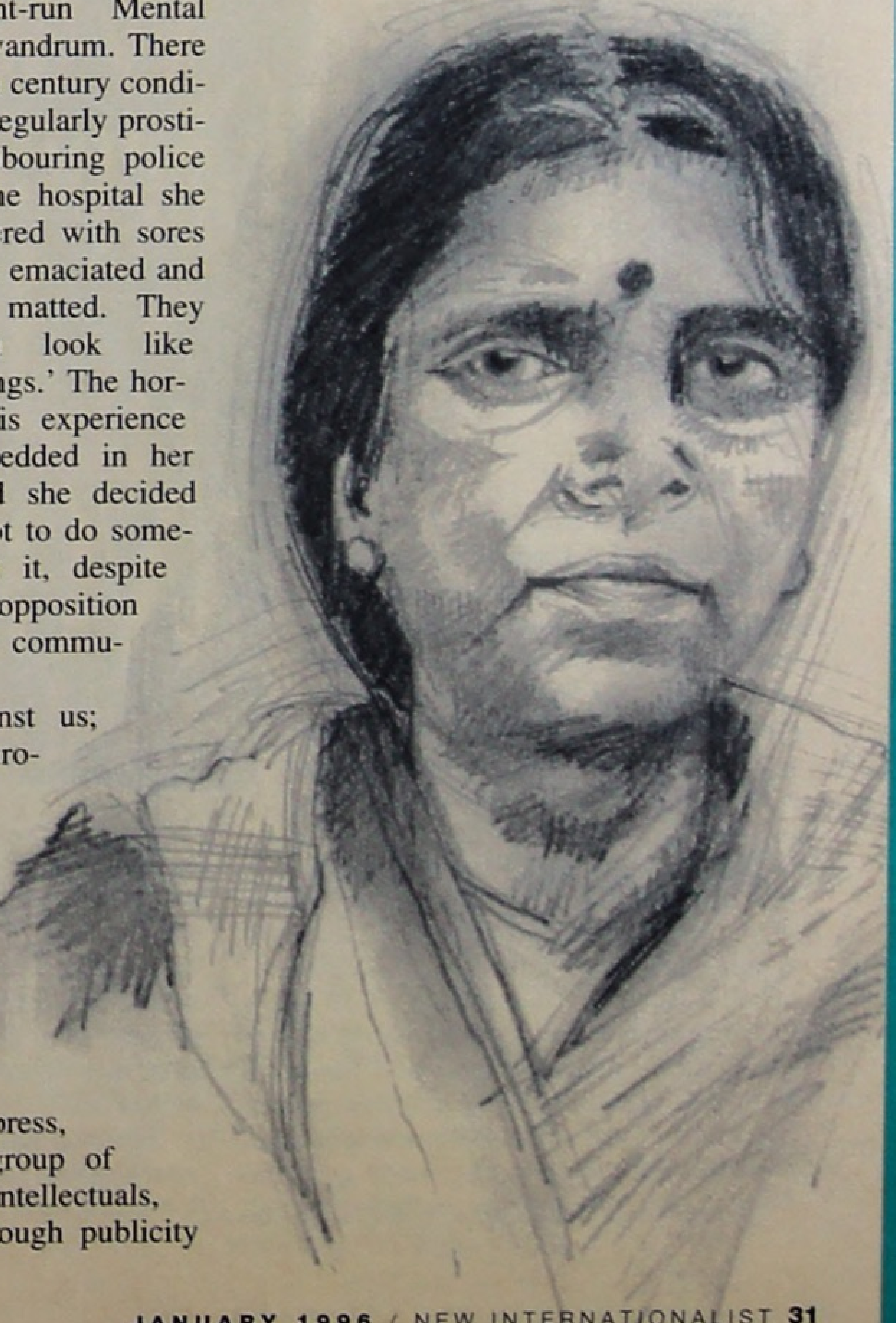
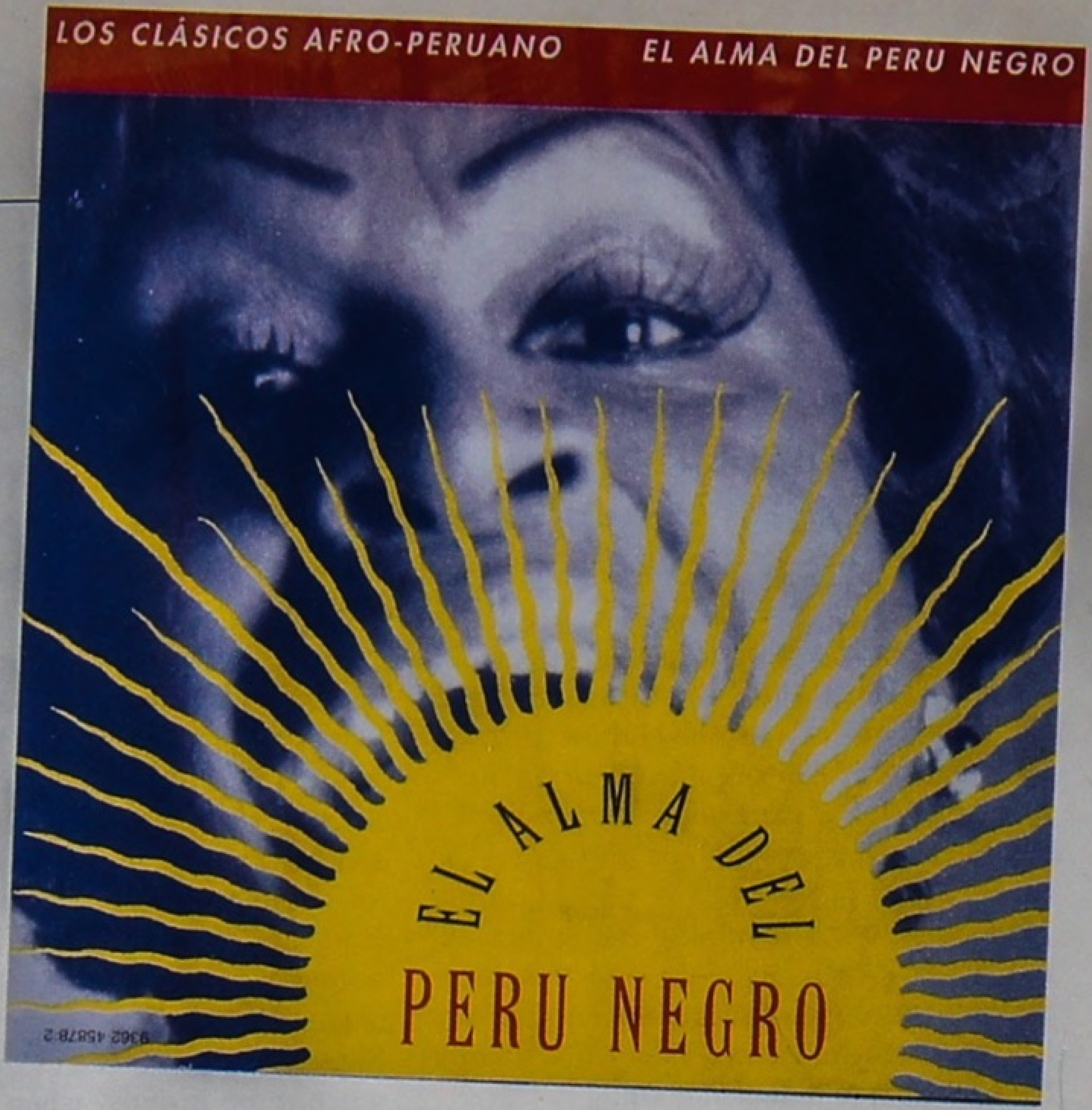


ILLUSTRATION: ALAN HUGHES

Reviews

music



The Soul of Black Peru

by **Various Artists**

(Warner Bros CD 9362-45878-2)

Here's another David Byrne compilation of music from Latin America that's little known in the North. Don't expect pan pipes – you're more likely to hear the sound of teeth shaken in a mule's jawbone, or the *caioti* (a 'box' percussion instrument now widely borrowed by other Latin musicians).

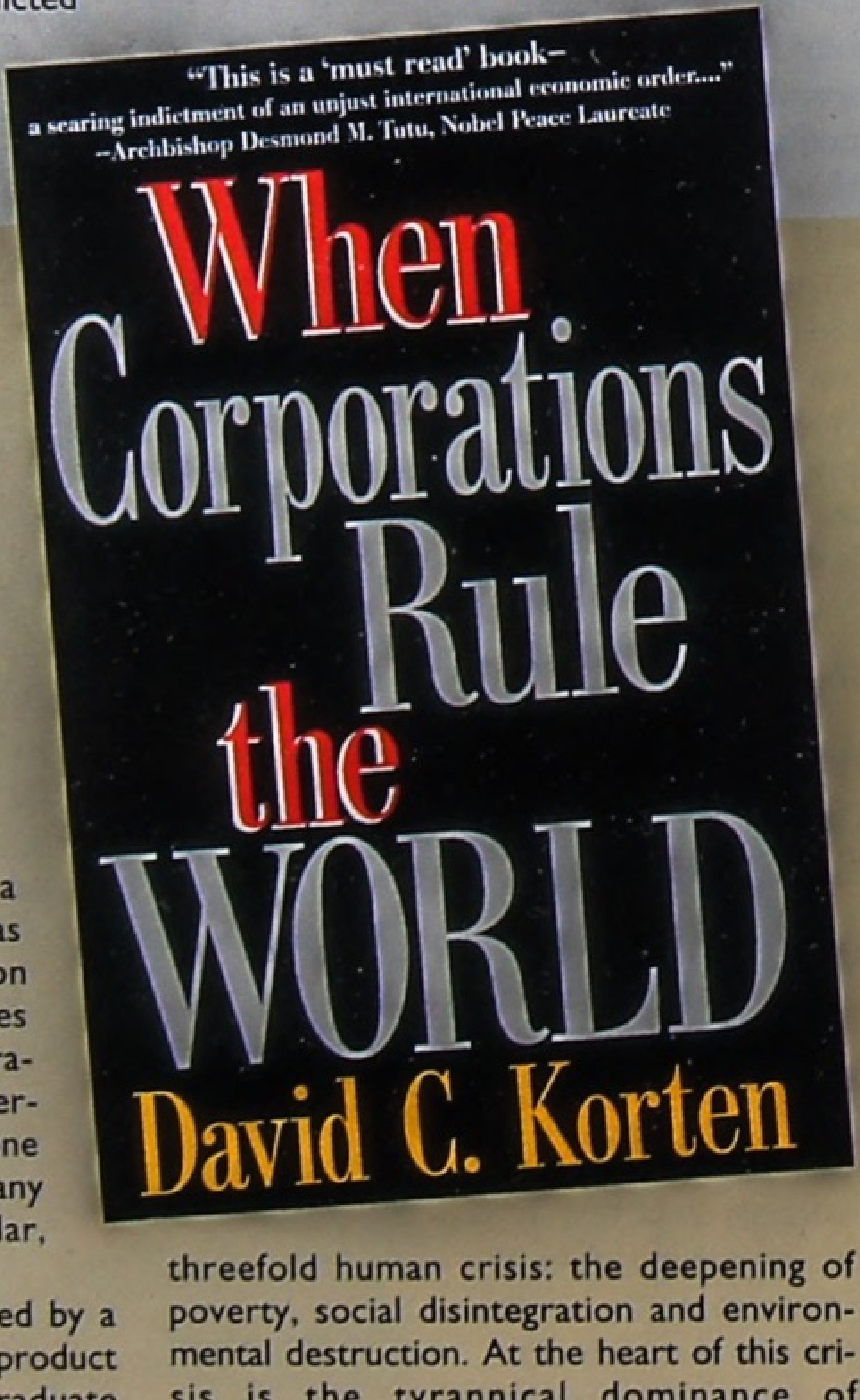
The most striking thing about the collection is its range. If you begin with the first track, Susana Baca's poignant *Maria Lando*, you'll not be prepared for the second, the upbeat *Yo No Soy Jaqui* from Manuel Donayre. Before you get to the end you'll be hard-pushed not to be moved by Chabuca Granda's rendition of *Una Larga Noche*, a lament built around the repetition of the dance's lyrical name, the Zamacueca.

The emotional force that drives the best of these songs is, however, pain – pain inflicted by racism, set against the playfulness or sorrow of the music. 'We come from Hell / Don't be scared of us / Devils! Devils! / With our tails and horns / We've only come to dance,' sing Peru Negro. For this is the music of Peru's disregarded black people, the descendants of slaves kept in isolated communities along the coast, close to the heart of the old Spanish empire. The pain is not a relic in the words. If you listen hard – and read the sometimes unreliable translation of poetic lyrics – you can hear it in the voices and the instruments.

We owe David Byrne a lot for bringing such wonderful music to a wider audience. His magpie instincts can lead him into mistakes, like his own version of *Maria Lando* which ends the collection in a jumble of smooth sounds and hideous Spanish. You don't get much idea, either, of the devastation of Peru, the sharpening of the pain, in recent years. Most of the recordings have been resurrected from the early 1970s.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆ DR

books


"This is a 'must read' book–
a searing indictment of an unjust international economic order...."
–Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, Nobel Peace Laureate
When Corporations Rule the WORLD
David C. Korten

When Corporations Rule the World

by **David C Korten**

(Earthscan
ISBN 1-85383-313-4)

Hitting the nail smack on its head is a rare ability – and David C Korten has got it. With one simple observation he disables the argument that equates free-market economics with democracy: 'In a political democracy, each person gets the vote. In the market, one dollar is one vote, and you get as many votes as you have dollars. No dollar, no vote.'

Korten is not a left-winger backed by a radical tradition. He is very much a product of the establishment – Harvard Graduate Business School, the Ford Foundation, USAID. But over the course of 30 years working in different parts of world he has managed to keep his eyes and his mind open. His verdict on what the free market and its overlords – the multinational corporations – are doing to the world is unambivalent. We are, he says, suffering from a threefold human crisis: the deepening of poverty, social disintegration and environmental destruction. At the heart of this crisis is the tyrannical dominance of corporations. Unaccountable, polluting and driven by a blinkered addiction to economic growth, they serve the interests of a very small international élite and are harming the rest of us.

Nothing startlingly new about this analysis. What is new is the direction it's coming from, and the persuasive clarity and authority with which Korten mounts his case. He is extremely well-informed and commands a punchy, personal, writing style that can connect with a diverse readership. He is also well abreast of developing trends. 'The economic globalization process is creating islands of wealth in poor countries and seas of poverty in rich countries,' he comments. This makes seeing the world as divided along class lines more meaningful than in terms of 'rich countries' and 'poor countries'.

Korten pins his hopes on the 'ecological revolution' that is bound to come. He also looks to an 'awakening civil society' and the growth of social movements – drawing quite plausibly on examples from around the world. Korten sets forth an agenda to 'reclaim the economic spaces... in favour of the small and locally accountable'. It sounds like another example of well-established green ideas entering the mainstream, and being presented as something new. That aside, Korten's mixture of acute observation, common-sense practicality and vigorous idealism may open more than a few minds.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆ VB

Note: *States of Disarray* by UNRISD (reviewed in **NI 270**) is now published by Earthscan (ISBN 185383 3185) and is available from good bookstores.

film

Cyclo
directed by **Tran Anh Hung**

Tran Anh Hung's debut feature *Scent of Green Papayas* was a delicately observed study of female servitude set in a Vietnam still colonized by the French in the 1950s. In tone it was austere but gentle, with only clues of the impending changes that were to convulse the country.

In **Cyclo** Hung explores the discord. Set in contemporary Ho Chi Minh City, it is an extraordinary, difficult film that challenges the viewer with its abstract range of jarring images.

The title is the nickname of the protagonist who runs a cycle-rickshaw taxi, zig-zagging through the city to earn enough to support two sisters and a grandmother following the death of his parents.

But as the film commences, his pedal cab is stolen, precipitating a series of terrible events as he resorts to crime in order to pay back the woman who rented it to him. In this respect **Cyclo** follows the narrative of *Bicycle Thieves*, Vittorio De Sica's 1948 Italian neo-realist classic that examined the state of post-war Italy through the simple story of a father's and son's search for a stolen bike.

But while the film documents the social reality of modern post-war Vietnam, Tran is more concerned to examine the scarred states of mind. **Cyclo** works on a metaphorical level as a cinematic poem that draws one into the mad confusion inherent in a country that has been put though so many violent upheavals. This is one of the most important and evocative films to have been made about Vietnam.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆ LF

STAR RATING

Excellent	☆☆☆☆☆
Very good	☆☆☆☆
Good	☆☆☆
Fair	☆☆
Poor	☆

Reviews by **Lizzie Francke, David Ransom** and **Vanessa Baird**
Reviews editor: **Vanessa Baird**

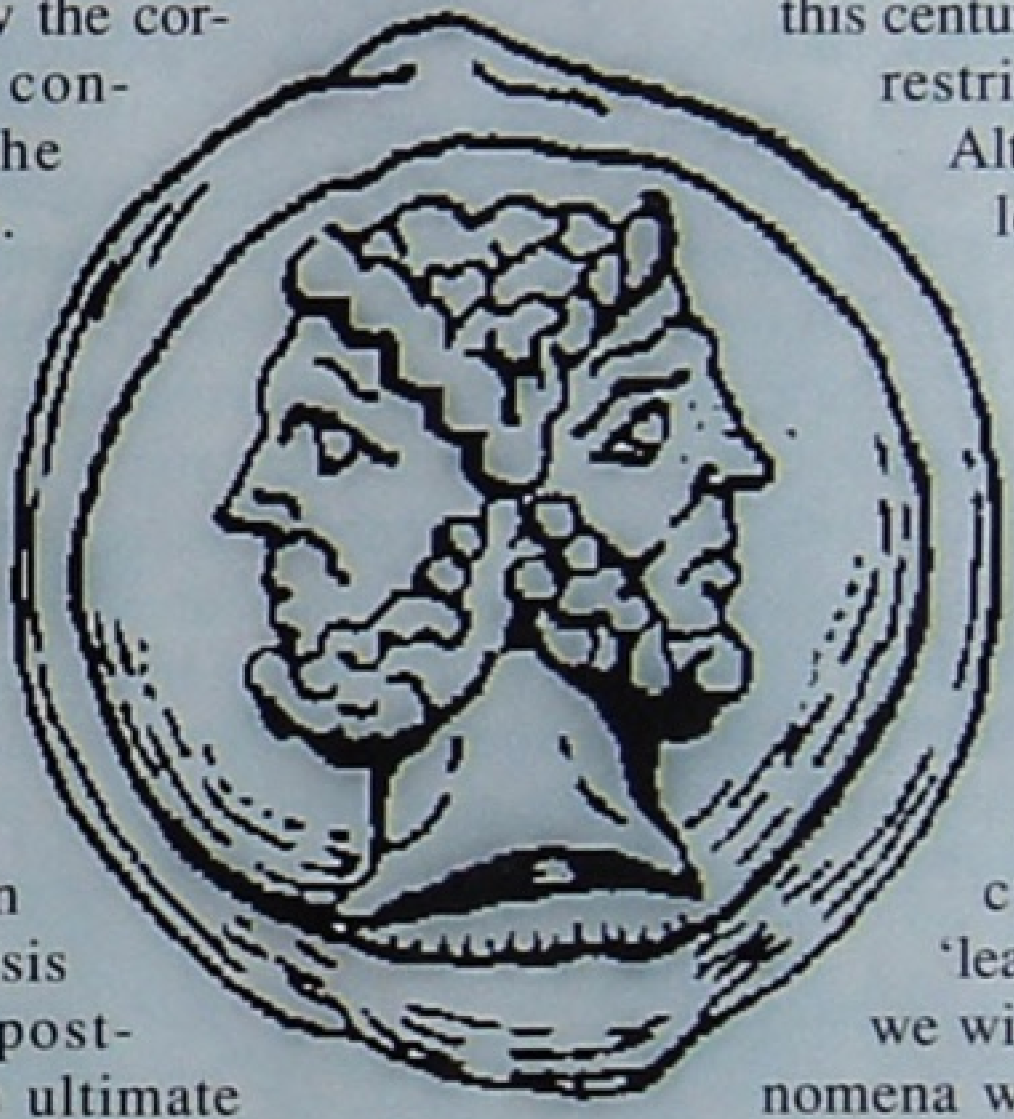
THE **CLASSIC**

Janus: A Summing Up

...being the book that looks both ways

'To put it crudely: evolution has left a few screws loose between the neocortex and the hypothalamus.' Thus Arthur Koestler defines his hypothesis of 'schizophysiology' in **Janus**. Written towards the end of his life this book serves as a summation of his earlier scientific writings – among them *The Act of Creation*, *The Case of the Midwife Toad* and *The Ghost in the Machine*. 'Schizophysiology' is a condition which Koestler sees as singularly human. It seeks to explain 'the chronic, quasi-schizophrenic split between reason and emotion' and does so by an evolutionary argument which runs as follows.

On top of inherited 'reptilian' and 'lower mammalian' neurological structures, a thin cerebral cortex has developed whose complexity and capacity is unique to humans. The cortex regulates those faculties – language, reason, thought – considered distinctively human. The reptilian and mammalian 'mush' below the cortex control those parts of consciousness to do with the instincts and the affections. Koestler's argument is that most of the catastrophes of human history have resulted from the fact that these two controlling sectors of the brain have failed to work in concert with one another. Where one might expect reason to check aggression, it has more often than not fostered it. The thesis takes on urgency in a post-Hiroshima age in which the ultimate catastrophe has become technologically possible. But Koestler is no pessimist. His intention in writing **Janus** is to construct 'An Alternative to Despair'. The divided brain hypothesis is a physiological one, he reminds us, 'and any condition which can be expressed in physiological terms should ultimately be accessible to remedies'.



The remedies he most rigorously proposes are biochemical ones – and in its whacky belief in a drug-based panacea the book belongs to the decade in which it was published. But Koestler is not at all impressed by the Aldous Huxley or Timothy Leary versions of this argument, which he sees as deplorably hedonistic. What he has in mind is something more mundane that would neither promote nor suppress reason or emotion, but reconcile them to one another. Not only is he optimistic that such a substance can be discovered or invented; he is also rather sanguine in failing to consider that a humanity as schizoid as he says it is might abuse it rather than respect it.

I should say immediately that prescribing drugs is only a small part of Koestler's job in **Janus**. There is a long, erudite, but compellingly readable central section in which he demolishes Darwinian evolution. This is especially important because the Darwinian theory of random mutation plus natural selection denies the role of goal-directed activity in species development. If a change in the physiology of the human brain will occur thanks only to chance and a favourable environment, we might as well stop striving now. By stressing the once-unfashionable case that evolution occurs where it answers a need of a species, Koestler again gives significance to human choice and purposive activity.

The book's title derives from the name of the Greek god who is usually depicted as having two faces, one looking to the past, the other to the future. Koestler's preoccupation with schizophysiology involves him in looking to the past in terms of human, and natural, history. But it also leads him to offer sketch lines for a human future which he assumes will take place. Typically, and daringly, he makes thrilling jumps from the discoveries of quantum physics in the first half of this century to meditations on extra-terrestrial life and parapsychology. Although the seemingly miraculous evolution of the human cerebrum is not explained by Darwinian theory – which demands progress in small steps, and denies that it happens in giant leaps – Koestler reminds us that it would be a mistake to assume that the brain has reached anything like its full capacity. Once we have 'learned to use our brains' better we will take seriously psychic phenomena which are currently excluded from proper consideration by the 'strait-jacket which nineteenth-century materialism, combined with reductionism and the rationalist illusion, imposed on our philosophical outlook'.

I am no fan of projected biochemical utopias, I am rather sceptical of parapsychology, and I believe the search for extra-terrestrial life is rather like looking for a needle in a haystack. Nonetheless, I don't find myself casting **Janus** aside the way I would many other books on these issues. For one thing, Koestler's convictions are strongly underwritten by the intelligence and wide-ranging knowledge with which he explains them. For another, his sense that much of the world is still to be discovered, and that we have still to discover a lot more about ourselves, is a rich resource in an age of seemingly terminal social apathy. Finally, as we settle habitually into the orthodoxies which we allow to regulate our daily lives, we need confident eccentrics to unsettle us and help us to look, like Janus, the other way too. Koestler was as confident and as eccentric as they come. ■

Macdonald Daly

***Janus: A Summing Up** by **Arthur Koestler** is published by Pan Books, 1978.*

Curiosities

QUESTIONS THAT HAVE ALWAYS INTRIGUED YOU ABOUT THE WORLD WILL APPEAR IN THIS, YOUR SECTION, AND BE ANSWERED BY OTHER READERS. PLEASE ADDRESS YOUR ANSWERS AND QUESTIONS TO 'CURIOSITIES'.

What proportion of Muslim women cover their faces in public? Is the practice increasing? And do women who cover their faces suffer any discomfort or health problems?

● I don't know what proportion of Muslim women currently veil their faces, but it does seem to be on the increase. Many women find the wearing of a constricting garment on the head very uncomfortable, especially in hot climes. It restricts activity and the long types of head coverings can get caught in escalators and machinery. Due to the skin's lack of exposure to the sun, women may also suffer from *osteomalacia* (softening of the bones) and exacerbation of common skin ailments such as eczema.

In recent times women have been flogged or imprisoned for not wearing a veil or for wearing it improperly. But veiling was not introduced by the prophet Mohammed; it had already existed for centuries in the Middle East and was used by Greeks, Romans, Jews and Assyrians as an indicator of social status. Nowhere in the Qu'ran is it explicitly prescribed except in that women are instructed to guard their private parts and throw a scarf over their bosoms (sura 24: 31-32).

Throughout Mohammed's lifetime veiling was observed only by his wives. Exactly how the custom spread to the rest of the community is not known. The Muslim conquest of areas in which veiling was commonplace among the upper classes might have been a factor. The taking of Mohammed's wives as models of Muslim womanhood might also have contributed.

Dr H Kazim
London, England

● During the two years I worked as volunteer at Kabul Public Hospital, scores of women came to the Ringworm Clinic with babies and toddlers infected by their mother's long *chaderi* (a head-to-toe cover with an oblong lattice over the eyes). The infections were stubborn in the absence of sunshine and antiseptic soap, in some cases persisting for years.

Eye-infections were also endemic among women in *chaderi* and their small children. There's no proof that the *chaderi* was to blame, but when women could be persuaded to burn the infected garment and apply simple hygienic measures, infections vanished.

From personal experience I can say that trying to walk around a busy city like Kabul in a *chaderi* makes you feel like a blinkered horse: there is no peripheral vision. I could not see what was at my feet and needed a guide. I have seen women in *chaderi* stumble on uneven footpaths and even fall down manholes. There is also the annoyance of having one's bottom pinched through the *chaderi* – being anonymous and blinkered it's even harder to fight back.

Dorothy Brewster
Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

UNITED NATIONS

Skin, bone and eye ailments have been linked to extreme veiling.

AWAITING YOUR ANSWERS

How much energy is needed to manufacture an average-sized car?

Leigh Cavanagh
Staines, England

How are the features added on to a globe? I can think of no convincing way that complex images could be printed directly onto a sphere without distortion or numerous joins.

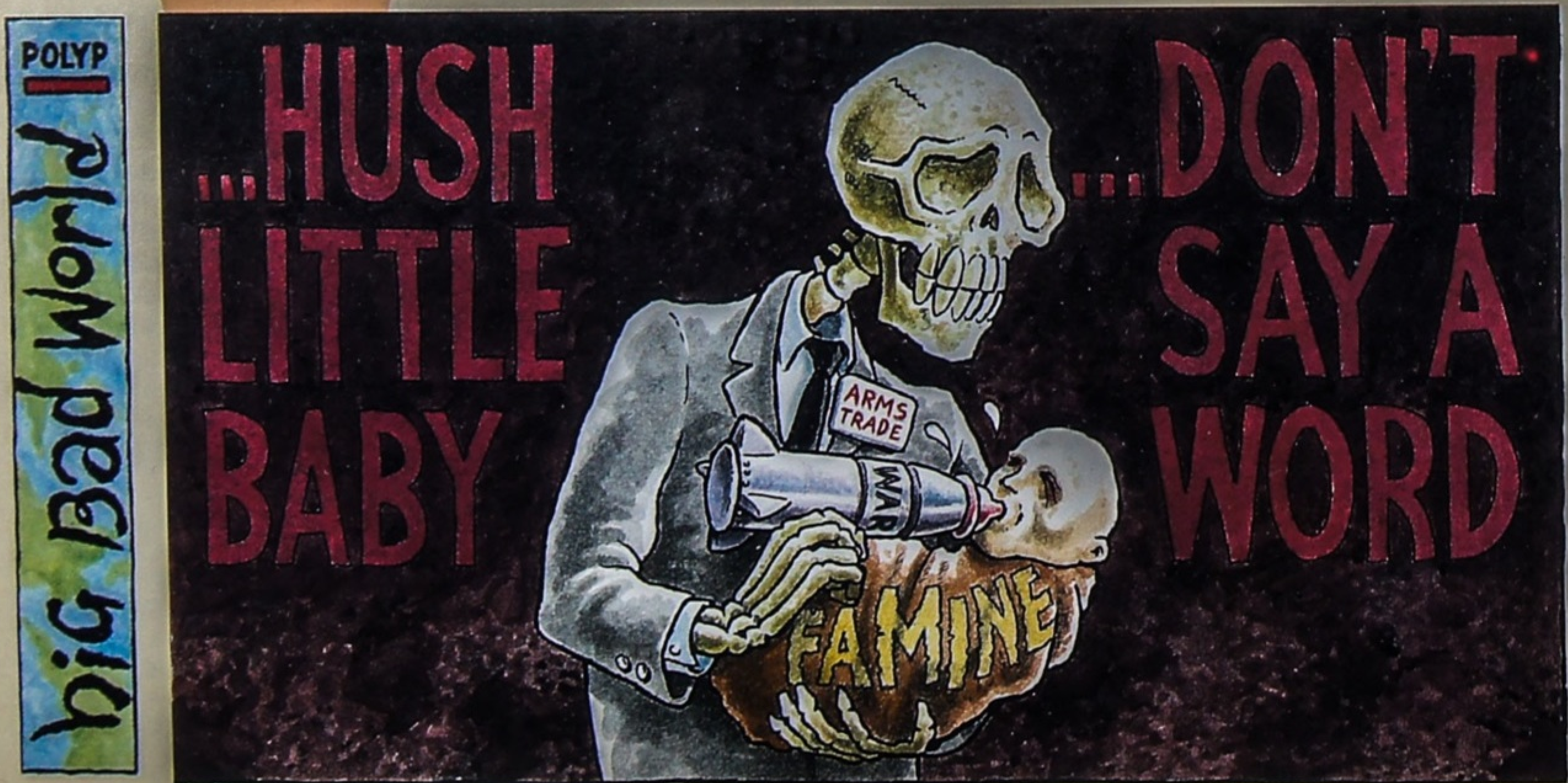
Paul Fitzgerald
Manchester, England

Is there an organization that collects medical goods (not drugs) past their expiry date?

Felicity Roberts
Kidderminster, England

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR ANSWERS PLEASE SEND THEM TO **CURIOSITIES, NEW INTERNATIONALIST, 55 RECTORY ROAD, OXFORD OX4 1BW, UK,** OR TO YOUR LOCAL NI OFFICE (SEE INSIDE FRONT COVER FOR ADDRESSES).

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS SECTION ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF **NI**.



Let them hang me

Journalist Zafaryab Ahmed has been charged with treason and conspiracy in Pakistan because of his involvement with the Bonded Labour Liberation Front. His partner, **Maria del Nevo**, describes the aftermath of the murder of Iqbal Masih, the Front's best-known young activist.

In 1992, when the Pakistan Government passed a bill abolishing bonded labour, my husband Zafaryab Ahmed told me that it would be naive to imagine that hundreds and thousands of men, women and children would suddenly be released from the shackles of debt and poverty. But never could we have imagined that, because he refused to give up trying to expose its continued existence, three years later he would be charged with treason and conspiracy for which he could be hanged.

Zafaryab was arrested at his home on 5 June 1995 by the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA). His elderly mother, sister and nieces wept, terrified, as he was taken away. He remained in subhuman conditions in Lahore Jail for eight weeks until he was granted temporary bail by the High Court.

He was at the airport, looking gaunt and weary, when I arrived. That night we sat up late talking. Sometimes he fell quiet and stared into space as if trying to make sense of it all. Throughout the long years of martial law he had campaigned for the restoration of democracy and was a loyal supporter of Benazir Bhutto. Now, ironically, it was under her leadership that he could be sent to his death.

He had been carrying out a research project for the Bonded Labour Liberation Front (BLLF), an organization which has been responsible for releasing and rehabilitating hundreds of children from bonded labour. Ehsan Ullah Khan, the leader of the BLLF, was in Britain at the time of Zafaryab's arrest. He, too, was charged with mounting 'economic warfare' against Pakistan and 'causing financial loss to Pakistani business interests abroad'.

Funeral of Iqbal Masih: 'A fighter and no ordinary person.'

MARIA DEL NEVO

Zafaryab and I talked about the absurdity of the allegations against him, but we both knew what was at the root of his arrest: the murder in April last year of Iqbal Masih, the 12-year-old bonded labourer turned human-rights activist.

Iqbal was sold by his mother to a carpet manufacturer at the age of four. But, according to Zafaryab, Iqbal was 'a fighter and no ordinary person'. At the age of ten, with the help of the BLLF, he escaped. Ehsan taught Iqbal to speak publicly and he did so at many BLLF rallies. There was no-one better to convince a crowd than this small boy who could speak from experience – he encouraged up to 3,000 other children to follow in his footsteps by escaping from bondage.

In 1994 Iqbal was awarded the Reebok Human Rights Youth in Action Award. But he had exposed the carpet industry and as a result exports began to fall rapidly. On Easter Day, when he was cycling with his friends Faryad and Liaqat in Muridke, his village, he was shot dead.

A boy called Ashraf confessed to Iqbal's murder. He was arrested and awaits trial, but has since revoked his confession. Ehsan Ullah Khan stated publicly that he believed his young friend had been murdered by the carpet-industry 'mafia'.

I recall poring over the cuttings files in the office of the *Frontier Post*, where I spent two happy years working with Zafaryab as a journalist. The press had had a field day, printing statements by Iqbal's father – who had abandoned the family many years before – accusing Ehsan Ullah Khan himself of being responsible for the murder in order to add weight to the BLLF campaign, and publishing articles in which Zafaryab was labelled 'the Indian agent'. Page after page referred to the 'Western, Jewish and Indian media campaign against Pakistan'.

My time with Zafaryab became more distressing. He was listless, as if tomorrow meant nothing to him. He struggled to write his weekly column for one of the dailies. 'I don't know what to write anymore,' he said.

When he was at the BLLF office one day he received a phone call from Suresh Verma, an Indian film producer based in Los Angeles, who wanted to make a film about child labour based on the life of Iqbal Masih. Zafaryab jumped at the invitation. They eventually agreed to meet, along with Ehsan, in Rome to talk with the film's financiers. But Zafaryab never got there. The BLLF phones were tapped by the FIA and he was arrested just days after he received his air ticket.

'A group of journalists went to see Benazir,' he told me, 'but she just turned them away, saying that the FIA had all the evidence they needed'. There was a tone of irony in Zafaryab's laugh. 'They have no evidence at all,' he said, 'some political cartoons a friend had given to me, some money, and letters from you'. Just after my arrival the two FIA officers responsible for investigating, arresting and charging him were transferred from their posts on charges of corruption and conducting raids outside their jurisdiction.

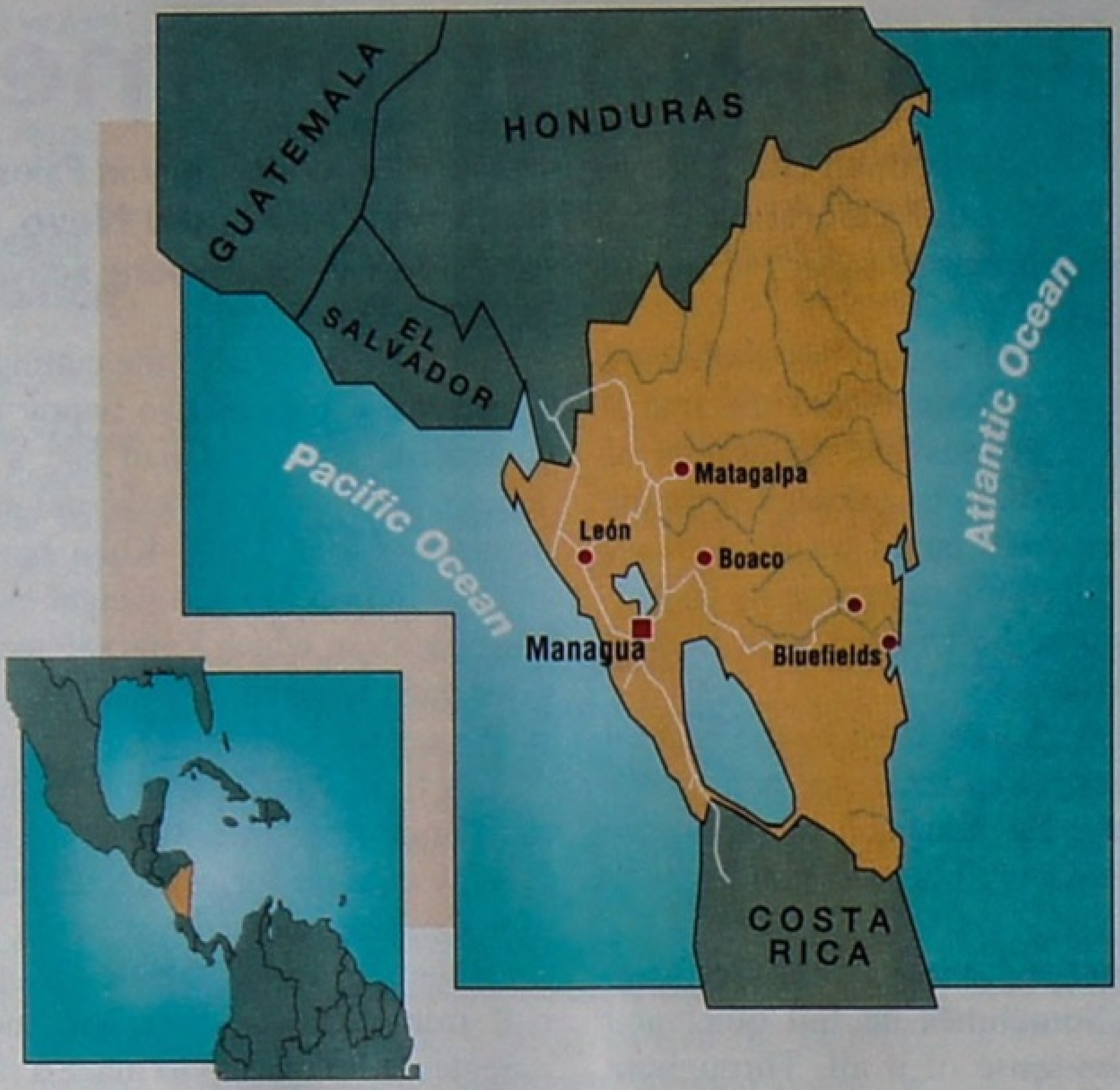
I asked Zafaryab how he felt about his impending trial. 'There is no case against us and they know that. But I am an embarrassment, and what worries me is that they will resort to other means to get rid of me in order to save face.'

We went to see Zafaryab's lawyer, Abid Hassan Minto. 'It is,' he said, 'a counter-campaign by the carpet industry and the Government. The Government, having passed a law abolishing bonded labour, has to protect its image, and the carpet industry has to protect its exports. The BLLF campaign was a thorn in their side.'

My three-week trip was over. Zafaryab stood with me at the airport waiting for my flight to be announced. I wept while he stared fixedly into the far distance. We were both consumed with the hopelessness of his situation. 'We can try and get you out,' I offered weakly. 'No,' he said, 'let them hang me. They will do so knowing that I'm innocent.' ■

Maria del Nevo is a former member of the New Internationalist co-operative. Zafaryab Ahmed is supported by Amnesty International. For further information contact the International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, Tel: (0171) 413 5500

Country profile
Nicaragua



THE AIR OVER the main rubbish dump outside the Nicaraguan capital of Managua is heavy with the impending storm. Vying with the famished dogs and phlegmatic cows, hundreds of huddled figures rake through the rubbish with long poles. 'Yesterday I found bottles and shoe soles, and sold them for ten cordobas ($1.30), ' says 13-year-old Juan Guevara Herrera.

Such scenes belie the praise heaped on Nicaragua by the World Bank and IMF for its speedy implementation of their 'structural adjustment' programmes – and show no sign of the aid their approval unlocked: since 1990, the Government has received $1,000 for every Nicaraguan. The aid is a reward for President Violeta Chamorro's defeat of the left-wing Sandinistas in the 1990 elections.

From 1979, when they overthrew the dictator Anastasio Somoza, until their fall in 1990, the Sandinistas were both a magnet for solidarity from the international left and a thorn in the side of the US Government. The former guerrillas distributed land to the peasants and launched internationally acclaimed crusades to end illiteracy and bring free healthcare to all.

Their politics were unacceptable to Washington, however. Presidents Reagan and Bush launched a hugely destructive campaign to oust them, setting up, training and financing the 'Contra' rebels, while a US-imposed trade-and-aid embargo inflicted huge damage on the Nicaraguan economy. The war succeeded in reversing the initial gains of the Revolution and the damage was compounded by Sandinista mismanagement of the economy. By 1990 the population had had enough and voted the Sandinistas out of office.

Since 1990 Chamorro's government has pushed through economic changes which in the rest of Latin America have taken 15 years. A crash programme of cuts, deregulation and privatization has transformed the economy: inflation has been reduced to around 10 per cent a year (from over 13,000 per cent in 1990).

Such 'stabilization' has brought international plaudits, but at huge social cost: half the state jobs have disappeared and unemployment has soared. Food production has fallen as banks have switched their loans away from peasant producers of beans and maize to large landowners exporting coffee and meat.

As elsewhere in Latin America, adjustment has boosted inequality. Malnutrition may be rising but the streets of Managua now suffer the hitherto-unknown sight of traffic jams of the élite's shiny new imported cars. Meanwhile market reforms have transformed a health service that was once the pride of the Sandinistas. A notice on one rural health centre's grimy wall reads: 'Anyone coming for an injection must bring their own syringe, elastoplast, gauze and bandages. Attention is free. Thank you.'

Presidential elections are scheduled for October 1996. The Sandinistas have split in two with ex-Vice-President Sergio Ramirez forming the Movement of Sandinista Renovation. The favourite to succeed Chamorro is a right-wing former mayor of Managua, Arnoldo Aleman. For the rubbish pickers of Managua, times are likely to stay hard for many years yet. ■

Duncan Green

AT A GLANCE

CHRIS BRAZIER

Leader President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro

Economy GNP per capita $340 (US $23,240). The lowest in Latin America and the Caribbean bar Guyana.
Monetary unit: Cordoba
Main exports: coffee, meat, seafood, bananas, sugar
Main imports: manufactured goods, fuel
External debt: $11.6 billion (1994).
Despite attempts to diversify, coffee, meat and seafood still make up over half Nicaragua's exports and the country runs a large trade deficit.

People 4.3 million. Population growth rate of 3.3% per annum.

Health Infant mortality of 51 per 1,000 live births (Australia 7 per 1,000). Hospitals have been forced to open private wards to generate income, while health centres in the countryside are starved of cash and supplies.

Culture The population is largely Spanish-speaking mestizo (mixed indigenous and Spanish). On the Atlantic Coast there are large Afro-Caribbean and indigenous populations.
Religion: Largely Roman Catholic, though 15% of Nicaraguans are now believed to have converted to the new evangelical protestant sects.
Languages: Spanish. On the Atlantic Coast the main other languages are Miskito and English.

Sources: *State of the World's Children 1995; World Bank; UNDP; Economist Intelligence Unit; Nicaragua: A Country Guide.*

Previously profiled April 1982

NI star rating

EXCELLENT	★★★★★
GOOD	★★★★
FAIR	★★★
POOR	★★
APPALLING	★

STAR RATINGS

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★
Average for Latin America but has become markedly more unequal since the fall of the Sandinistas.
1982 ★★★★

SELF-RELIANCE ★★
Highly dependent on aid to cover a large trade deficit which pays for imports of food and fuel.
1982 ★★★

POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★
Machismo is still prevalent despite the upsurge in the women's movement under Sandinista rule.
1982 ★★★

LITERACY ★★
65%. This marks a significant decline from its estimated Sandinista peak of around 80%.
1982 ★★

FREEDOM ★★★
Human rights have been largely respected during the transition to democratic rule. Little overt press censorship, but newspapers tend to be highly partisan.
1982 ★★★

LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★
67 years. Compares with a rich-world average of 76.
1982 ★★

POLITICS

NI ASSESSMENT ★★★
Following their electoral defeat the Sandinista Party has become too divided and demoralized to present a clear alternative to Chamorro's right-wing adjustment policies. Hope for real change now lies in the continuing strength of grassroots community and women's activism – itself a legacy of the Sandinista period.

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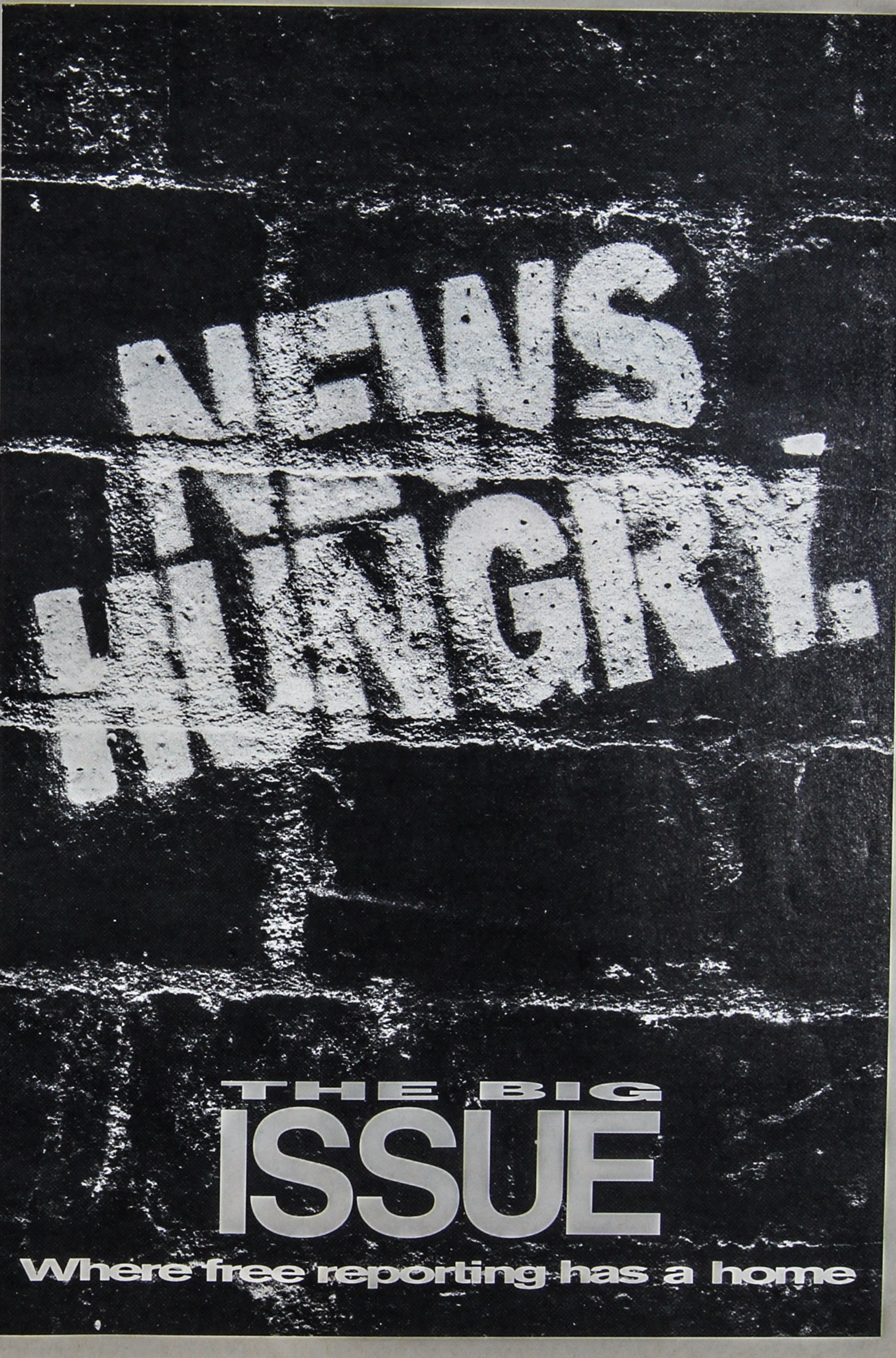
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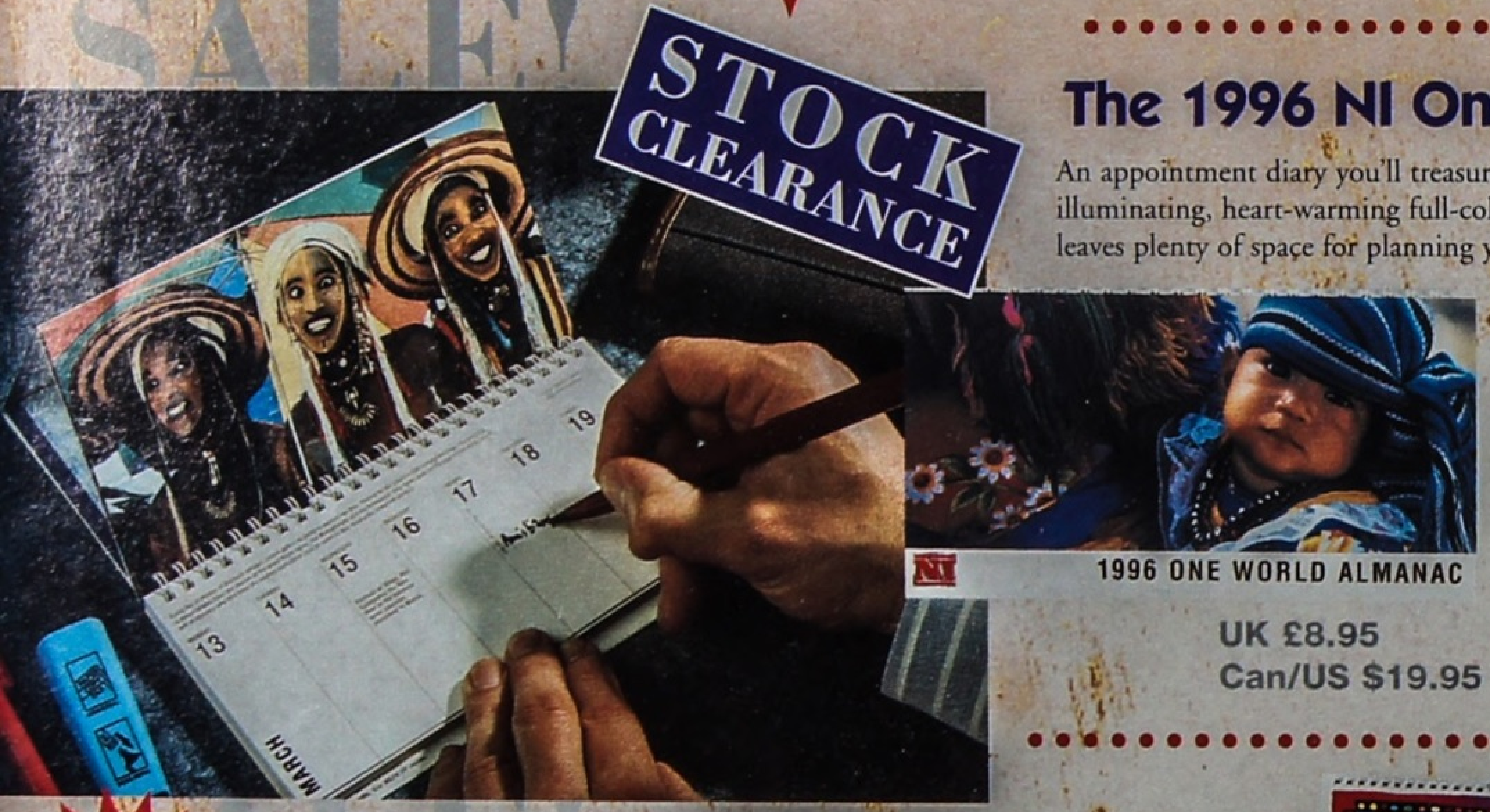
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